

TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND.

BY ROGER O'CONNOR,

DUBLIN:—

1799.

THE GREAT BRITAIN

THE MUSEUM

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TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

EARL CAMDEN.

MY LORD,

I TRUST you will acknowledge, that I have not dealt unfairly with you—that I have not taken you by surprise: it is now nearly three months since I wrote to you respecting the treatment I had experienced: your answer has, at length, arrived--a long time to form an opinion on a very plain question. Let me assure you, that I consider the violence offered to myself as nothing, compared to the injury the community sustains by the violation of the law, in my person. I feel the public interest so deeply and materially concerned, that I think myself in duty bound to my country, and to the friends of freedom throughout the empire, to address you through the medium of the public prints. If you are warranted in your conduct, my appeal must serve your government; as far as it relates to me, praise for your vigilance, and thanks for your determination, will be your due from the thinking part of the society. If, on the contrary, your proceedings have been unjustifiable, perfidious, treacherous, and illegal, your deserts shall be ascertained, not by you, nor by me; I shall not pronounce judgment, let the country by whom you are to be tried, pass sentence.

One or more of the following conclusions will, perhaps, be drawn: either that you have acted legally, though perfidiously; that you have acted illegally and perfidiously; or, that you have acted in such a manner, as clearly to prove to the people, that you are perfectly regardless of their opinion, and indifferent as to the legality, or illegality of your proceedings.

In the month of April last, my steward was taken into custody, on the information of one *Cullinane*, an approver, for administering the oath of Union; in a few days afterwards I learned, that (though no information could be extorted, either from this approver or my steward, concerning me) a warrant had come from you, and six of your council, to *Brigadier General Coote*, to arrest me. From the previous information, received by me, of such your intention, I stepped aside on the night the attack on my house and person was to be made, and finding that Ireland was no place for a person who had ever openly avowed himself an enemy to the system adopted by your Excellency, I left my country---that unfortunate country where terror had raised her frightful throne on the ruins of law and justice, I preferred a temporary banishment from family and home, to a *Bastile*; and as a proof of my being under no apprehension from the justice of the law, before I quitted Ireland I wrote to Mr. Verling, my law agent, to acquaint the Judge who was then holding his assizes in this county, that I would come forward, if I was assured of an immediate trial: as that assurance could not be obtained, I left my country. You, as well as many others, construed my flight into guilt; in so doing you were unmindful of the system you had regularly acted on---*terror was the order of the day*. I remained in England from the latter end of April till the 18th of June, on which day I returned to Ireland, to comply with the proclamation of your Excellency and your council, of the 17th of May. I did accede to the terms

of

of that proclamation, in all its forms. What my motives were for surrendering myself under that proclamation, you are not authorized to make enquiry of, or comment on; whether I did so for the purpose of adjusting my private affairs, or by my presence to discountenance perjury---to develope plans of legalized murder, by certain agents, who pretended to be high in the confidence of government, and thereby to be the means of saving the lives of innocent men, who were to be offered up as victims to exterminating administrators, is a matter of no moment in the present question. Suffice it to say, I *did* surrender myself under the stipulations contained in the proclamation, and received a certificate from the magistrates of my having done so; of all which I forthwith made you and your secretary acquainted.

From the 18th of June till the 5th of July, I absented myself from home, expecting daily some answer to any of my many letters. Tired of delay, on the 5th of July I went home, determined to wait the event; and on the 14th was arrested by *Brigadier General Coote*, and detained in Bandon till the 21st, on which day I was removed to Cork, escorted by *Captain Roche*, of the 30th regiment, and from thence to Dublin. Here I should mention, that whilst I was detained a prisoner in Bandon, I received a letter from your secretary, written before my arrest was known in Dublin, "requesting of me to repair to Dublin, as, if the information of government was correct, I could throw much light on Irish affairs, which was expected from me, and that I may rest assured of my person being perfectly secure."

This letter was dated in Dublin, the same day I was arrested in the country; which circumstance, when you knew, the *manner* merely of my going was changed---I went as a prisoner---I would have gone, if at my liberty.---In a detail of this nature, though I studiously avoid prolixity, it is altogether impossible

possible to be as concise as I could wish; much depends on the reference to dates, to be perfectly understood; and I am the more particular in observing them as your's and your secretary's defence chiefly rests on confounding them.

On the 23d of July I arrived in Dublin, with *Captain Roche*, who was ordered by your secretary to conduct me on the following day to his house in the Phoenix-park, whither we went. At this interview with Mr. *Pelham*, I was questioned at considerable length, both respecting my own transactions, and my political opinions: he dwelt much on the information of one *Hebert*, a French prisoner of war, on parole, in Dunmanway; the remainder of the conversation was curious, and convinced me that Mr. *Pelham* received his intelligence from very incorrect informers. Without entering into detail, it is fully sufficient for my purpose to affirm, that an hour of the time of conference was taken up respecting *Hebert* and his information. What was the result? I was liberated. On asking Mr. *Pelham* if he had any further occasion to see me, or if there was any necessity for *Captain Roche* to attend me, Mr. *Pelham's* answer was—"Mr. O'Connor, you are at perfect liberty to go when and where you please; *Captain Roche* has no further occasion to attend you as a prisoner; but you will be so kind as not to leave town till three o'clock this day—after that hour, if you do not hear from me, you are entirely at your liberty." These were Mr. *Pelham's* words to me, in the presence of *Captain Roche*, than whom there exists not a man of more real worth, or more nice honour; to his recollection I appeal for the certainty of what I advance. In Dublin I remained from Sunday till Thursday; on which day, previous to leaving town, I requested an audience of Mr. *Pelham*, relative to my brother, whom your Excellency had dungeoned for six months, and who was at that time in the Tower.

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At this interview with Mr. Pelham, nothing very material as to myself passed, except his having told me, that since my arrival in Dublin, government had received informations of a very serious nature concerning me, but that no attention was paid to them, as they came from a quarter not to be depended on: though I make but slight mention of these informations, at this time, I must request that you will mark the passage with particular notice, as by and by I shall be under the necessity of recurring to it. After my making several demands of the secretary, respecting my brother, I left Dublin, to return to the county of Cork. On my arrival at home, I met a letter from *Brigadier General Coote* to my wife, in the words following:---

*Camp, near Bandon,
July 26, 1797.*

MY DEAR MADAM,

" AS I know it will give you pleasure to hear of Mr. O'Connor, I send you a copy of a letter, this day received by me from Mr. Pelham, concerning him.

*Phoenix-park,
July 25, 1797*

" MY DEAR SIR,

" CAPTAIN ROCHE will report to you his arrival here with Mr. O'Connor: they will return to-morrow, but Mr. O'Connor is discharged from any arrest, and is out, on the bail he entered into at Mallow.

(Signed,)

" T. PELHAM."

" I am, dear Madam, &c.

(Signed,)

" EYRE COOTE."

Here, my Lord, I shall drop the thread of my narrative, 'till I make a few comments on the foregoing: from which it will appear, that in violation of your proclamation, I was arrested; detained for a week a prisoner in Bandon, and taken to Dublin.

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The public will observe, that at the time of my seeing Mr. Pelham, on the 24th of July, he was in possession of *Hebert's* information against me; that he questioned me at considerable length relative thereto, and liberated me, having, as I must suppose, authority so to do, and in proof of having done so advisedly, and with sufficient thought, he wrote to *Brigadier General Coote*, on the day following, the above recited letter, wherein is mentioned my being discharged from any arrest, and being out on the bail I had entered into at Mallow; which he knew to be a recognizance of the peace for seven years, pursuant to the Proclamation, Mallow being the place where I had surrendered myself.

A few more remarks, this letter shall be concluded, and your Excellency shall get time, before the receipt of my next, to ruminate on your conduct, and to consider of that of the agents of your government.

"Till such time as I could with certainty assure the public, that you had been apprised of what had been done in your name, and under the sanction of your authority, from my private communications to you, and your answers, I wished them to think that you were innocent, as being ignorant of the circumstances attending my case. Now, my Lord, if blame attaches, you must bear your part of the weight: a receiver of stolen goods is deemed rather more culpable than the thief: When thou sawest a thief thou consentest unto him, and hath been partaker with the adulterer."

Permit me to ask you, do you suppose I would have had returned to Ireland, in June last, was I not confident that no offence could be charged on me, within the exceptions of your proclamation?

Allow me to enquire of you, whether you think it probable, after being treacherously and perfidiously deprived of my liberty, after my compliance, with
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the terms of your proclamation, that I would have suffered myself tamely to be taken to Dublin, by any one man, (to whom I again appeal, as to the possibility of forcing me thither,) if I had been under any apprehension, on an investigation of my conduct, of being detained?

Let me put the question to you; had Mr. *Pelham*, or had he not, power to liberate me? and, lastly, did not you write to my friend, *Lord Kinsale*, that I had been liberated by your authority?

For the answers I shall thank you, if you can give them to your satisfaction; if you cannot, whisper them to yourself in your closet.

I trust, for my own sake, there is nothing libellous in this letter. Truth, it seems, may be libel—and it contains nothing else. I could, with the utmost difficulty, keep my pen within bounds; I governed it—happily it governed not me. Had I allowed it to etch my thoughts, I never should walk ten feet straight forward again. I live in the hope, however, of having my hand one day at liberty to manifest what my cogitations are.

I set at defiance all the machinations of conspirators against me.

Nor, my Lord——

“——is there any terror in your threats,
 “ For I am arm'd so strong in honesty,
 “ That they pass by me as the idle wind
 “ Which I respect not.”

I cannot prevail on myself to conclude this letter in the usual way that one gentleman expresses himself to another.

I cannot say I have the least respect for you, nor will I ever be your humble servant—I must only subscribe myself,

Prisen, Cork,
January 13, 1798.

ROGER O'CONNOR,

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LETTER

L E T T E R II.

MY LORD,

I AM apt to think you would be to the full as well satisfied, if I discontinued my correspondence with you—an ardent love for my country forbids it. I hold the man guilty in the *first* degree, who from a masked battery, assails his fellow-citizens' freedom; in the *second*, the open, bold, avowed invader of their just rights; and in the *third*, the silent, passive endurer of such wrongs.

There can be little difficulty in convincing you of my real concern for the necessity of addressing you; believe me, when I declare, that of the two, I think you will have to regret the occasion which has given rise to the correspondence, more than I shall; though, if ever you had nice feelings, they must have become so callous since your arrival in my country, that you will not stand in need of much pity, for any shock they may sustain.

I hope no libellous matter was discovered in my former letter, which as the law-officers of your vice-crown, have in all probability by this time reviewed; I may resume my narrative.

Permit me then, through you, to inform the public (you are acquainted with most of the circumstances already), that I quitted Dublin, on the 27th of July, immediately after leaving Mr. *Pelham*, and returned to my own house in the county of Cork, where I remained but one day, when I went with my wife and family to Kinsale, to be more out of the way of *spies* and *informers*, a body of whom there had been during my absence from the country, an attempt made to *organize*, which in part succeeded; about fifteen *Orange*, or *bludgeon-men*, having been raised, *attested* and furnished with daily hire, as the rule of this respectable corps

corps of observation and execution, is to swear to any thing, as matter of course, that may be written as matter of form, and as I did not stand well with the gentlemen of this fraternity, (for which, in good truth, I do not blame them) I judged it prudent to leave home.

At Kinsale I remained 'till the commencement of the Cork assizes, when I came to this city, in order to expole as dark a conspiracy as ever was formed against the lives of twelve innocent men; so fully had I investigated the charges, alledged against these men, of the futility of which I was so confident, and so clearly did I see through the design of the conspirators, that I was determined to bring the whole transaction to light; by giving every aid which my labour, purse, or talents could bestow, in a fair, open, and I trust, honourable manner.—From the moment the party most anxious for the success of the prosecution, saw the host of witnesses, (*heretofore intimidated*) my appearance in behalf of the prisoners had produced, they despaired of being able to effect their bloody purpose—scarcely an hour passed 'till the day of trial, without a solicitation to me from one quarter or another; not to interfere between Government and United Irishmen, or threats of informations hanging over my head, of which I was not aware, and which would certainly be let fall on me.

Solicitations I resisted, threats I despised—I did my duty—which when I abandon from motives of private advantage or personal fear, I devoutly pray that I may cease to exist.

The event of this important trial justified my opinion; the men were acquitted by as respectable a jury as ever was impannelled, without the necessity of producing a single witness on their behalf. One of the witnesses for the prosecution, the principal ostensible performer to whom *Brigadier General Coote* had given twenty seven guineas for *past services*, and had

promised on the conviction of the people, an hundred more, with the immediate possession of the surveyorship of Beershaven, ran off from the Court-house, and has never since been heard of, the other was hurried from off the table into the dock, tryed for perjury, convicted, and sentenced to be transported to Botany-bay for seven years.

It may at first view, seem extraordinary, that any person could be found so depraved, as to be sorry for the acquittal of those men, but so it was, a few who were deepest in the plot, enraged at its discovery and miscarriage, formed the resolution of putting the threats (already noticed) against me into execution; and now I came to learn *more particularly*, the quarter from which the menaced attack was to be made.

Fellow-citizens, let not the tear stand in your eye, whilst I expose to your view this conspiracy against me, let indignation rouse, rather than sorrow depress you, feel for me—*feel for yourselves*, but let it be with the firmness of men—of *Irishmen*—not with the melting spirits of women: there is not a man of you unconcerned.

On the 17th day of the most protracted assizes ever know in this country, did five constables rush into my wife's bed-chamber, and arrest the father of eight children, on an information, taken by—whom? By no other than one whom the world has called my own *brother*. Me, did the citizens of Cork behold, dragged from wife and children to this gaol, on such an informaton.—Rage seized the *same* people of the south, when they came to know the truth. Hear, how I became almost soon as dungeoned, acquainted with the means used in procuring the information, which, if possible, aggravate the enormous crime of taking it.

I had not been five minutes in this gaol, when a young gentleman of the name of *Speare*, a lieutenant in the 8th regiment of foot, whom I had never known before,

before, begged to see me. Being introduced, he told me of his hearing that my *brother* was the cause of my arrest; that he was present, when *Cullinane* gave the information on which I was taken; that every persuasion and threat was made use of, to prevail on him to swear it; that on *Cullinane's* saying on his oath he knew nothing to my prejudice, my brother told him it was a mere matter of form, and should never appear; that his only motive was regard to informant, who must go to gaol, and be hanged, if he persisted in his obstinacy, and that he never ceased working upon the mind of *Cullinane*, 'till he had prevailed on him to swear to the information; every charge in which was suggested to him by my brother. Mr. *Speare* concluded with saying, that he was ready to come forward at any time, and swear to the truth of what he had related, which his conscience would not allow him to conceal.

Scarcely had Mr. *Speare* left the gaol, when a messenger from *Cullinane* himself came to let me know his astonishment on hearing that I had been arrested on an information of his; that my brother had been with him that morning, and desired him not to lose a moment's time in getting out of town, but that he would not go, as he feared (from the information appearing, which this magistrate told him should never be the case) some danger to me, and that if I should pardon him, he would tell the TRUTH. He then proceeded to acquaint me, by the desire of *Cullinane*, that on Wednesday the 19th of July, whilst I was a prisoner in Bandon, within nine miles of my own house, where I had left seven young children (*within one mile of which my brother lives*), whom also their mother had quitted to come to me, at a time when every soul, *save one*, in the country, was touched with pity for her sufferings, did my brother *steal* to the house of *Cullinane*—and to this man did this brother say—

• O'Connor

‘ O’Connor has returned to this county, and is shortly
 ‘ to go Dublin, to give information against twenty-
 ‘ four United Irishmen. You are the first on the list,
 ‘ for swearing against his steward last spring. From
 ‘ my regard to you, I have devised a plan for your
 ‘ safety—be before-hand with him; give me some
 ‘ information against O’Connor, which shall never ap-
 ‘ pear unless he should attack you—in which case it
 ‘ will save you.’

In vain did the man urge his ignorance of me—he was answered with curses for his obstinacy, and threats of the gallows in case of refusal. At length he consented to attend a summons at this magistrate, my brother’s house; and in the mean time he promised to think of the business—which summons he received, and answered; all the circumstances attending which, more fully appear by Mr. *Speare’s* affidavit, sworn before the mayor of Cork, hereunto annexed.

Such is the history of this information, on which I was arrested, the very same which your secretary told me on the 27th of July, had been received by government of me since my arrival in Dublin, and which he added met with no countenance, by reason of the quarter it came from, as mentioned in my former letter.

Tedious I must appear; not versed in composition, I could not express myself more concisely—with a few observations I shall conclude this letter. Mr. *Pelham* received this information of *Cullinane’s*, from *Brigadier General Coote*, on Monday the 24th of July, a little after I quitted him.—His letter to Mr. *Coote*, of the 25th, stated in my former letter, must consequently have been written *subsequent* to his knowledge of it. On Thursday 27th, he told me of the receipt of such an information—yet *he suffered me to depart unmolested; he discharged me “from my arrest.” and suffered me “at large on the bail I had entered into at Mallow.”*

Mallow," which he knew was *only a recognizance of the peace for seven years, under the proclamation*. Pray, my Lord, is it an offence contrary to law, for a man of considerable estate to attend the assizes of his county? Is it penal for a lawyer of fourteen years standing at the bar, to appear in court an advocate, *though unbired?* What is the *treason* I have committed?

I would tell you to your very beard, the *avowed* charge against me is, *stretching forth my protesting arm between innocent men and death, in the shape of Irish-legal murder*.

Permit me to enquire of your Excellency—if it is *law* to keep back in Magistrate's pockets, informations (taken full seven weeks prior to the assizes) for the space of seventeen days of the actual sitting of a Judge of gaol delivery—the traitor appearing every day in the very court, and to delay sending up bills of indictment on them, 'till the Judges had quitted the county, whereby the accused must be deprived of trial, and doomed to a *Bastile for seven months*: though the longest assizes ever known had passed over, after the alledged commission of the offence? Where did you learn such *law*? I am sure not from your father. I do not *directly* charge you, but I do charge some servants of your administration, with *hiring* my unfortunate brother to commit, this more than monstrous deed; but though your Excellency may not have *devised* the plan, you must be content to be considered as an accessory after the fact, by not divesting such a magistrate of his office, and by proceeding on an information so procured, of *all* the circumstances attending which I do publicly declare and aver I made you acquainted. The act of the magistrate countenanced by administrators, must be taken as the act of the administration. Could I have viewed it in the light of *private malice, of individual depravity*, I should never have *proclaimed* the infamy of a brother, whose sober
reflection

reflection should have been his punishment—more than probable your Excellency knows nothing of our Irish history, *but that of your times*, open any page of it since the evil hour your countrymen first came amongst us, you will meet with a case similar to the present, our history is filled with such acts of English viceroys, secretaries, chaplains, clerks, runners, spies and informers. It was by such arts my *dis-united* country became enslaved by your's; this is but a revival, or to speak more properly, a continuation of the old system, of setting father against son, son against father, and brother against brother, friend against friend; but thanks to the grand Artificer, *discord*, that evil planet, have nearly ran its course, and is about to sink below the horizon of our island—*see it vanisheth*. Behold *Union's* propitious light risen in the north, moving over all the land, dispelling the mists of bigotry and superstition, which obstructed the rays of truth and reason *directing and animating the children of Erin*.

Wishing you in charity—eyes to see, and ears to hear, I take my leave of your Excellency for the *present*, hoping to bring my correspondence with you to a final period in one more letter.

ROGER O'CONNOR.

LETTER

L E T T E R III.

MY LORD,

FROM my two former letters addressed to *you*, but designed for the *public*—the people in all probability will conclude that you have acted treacherously and perfidiously. Be it my duty in this letter to relate the proceedings after my arrest—from which my countrymen, perhaps, may be warranted in thinking that the law has been most flagrantly violated; and God knows, the last parliament of abhorred memory, gave you field wide enough to exercise every species of cruelty, without your being driven to the necessity of taking a range *beyond* the limits assigned you.

Without further preface, I proceed to state, that being arrested on the 27th of September, and dragged to this gaol (as heretofore shewn) such a clamour was raised throughout this city, that evening and the following morning, that *even* the grand-jury of this county were ashamed to see me brought to the Court-house, on such an information; and hit upon the expedient of bolstering it with the information of *Hebret*, and accordingly, on the next day, found bills of indictment against me *on that*; after which I was ordered up to the court from this gaol, by Mr. *Sergeant Chatterton*, who presided as Judge, (Barons *Smyth* and *Metge*, having quitted the county the day before, but a few minutes prior to my arrest.) When I had arrived at the Court-house, I made no doubt of immediate releasement, having taken the precaution to procure the attendance of *Cullinane* the prosecutor.

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My counsel, Messrs. *Henry Grady*, and *Lysaght*, required of the Court to discharge me, according to the proclamation, to give me an immediate trial, or to admit me to bail; with any of which requisitions the Judge refusing to comply, Mr. *Grady* rose, and told such a tale of woe, as drew tears from almost every eye of a crowded audience—all his endeavours were ineffectual. Mr. *Lysaght* proved, in my opinion, incontrovertibly, that I could not *legally* be remanded to prison—his efforts were fruitless. I then addressed the Court, to which I briefly stated, that no part of *Cullinane's* information placed me within the exceptions of your proclamation of the 17th of May. That on *Hebert's* information, I had heretofore been in fact tried by your secretary, and actually acquitted, and that though I had been in custody, not more than eighteen hours, I was ready for trial, to which, that there should be no delay, I had summoned the only witness against me, who then attended, and was in my sight.

In short, I demanded an instant trial, liberation on bail, or a discharge, under the faith of your proclamation, and lastly, I called on either counsel or agent for the crown, to shew cause by affidavit why my trial should not be proceeded on—no person appeared—all I could obtain was an adjournment of the assizes for ten days, in order, as the Judge said, to give an opportunity to me to apply to your government for my liberation, and to himself of enquiring from the executive, how he was to regulate his conduct, as he found himself in a very painful, awkward situation; and back I was conducted to this prison.

I then wrote to your secretary, a plain statement of all the facts; I enclosed Lieutenant *Speare's* affidavit. I reminded him of his knowledge, in July, of all the charges now brought against me, in the shape of bills of indictment, and his liberation of me, and concluded, with requesting an order from him for my discharge

charge from custody, that I might prosecute my journey to England, whither I had intended to go, immediately after the assizes of Cork: to this I received Mr. *Pelham's* answer—‘ That I had neither his consent nor countenance to attend the assizes; on the contrary, that he imagined I had gone to England long since, that he had nothing now to do with the affair of my arrest, bills having been found against me, by the grand-jury of my county, that if I had been indicted for administering unlawful oaths, I should of course be discharged under the terms of the proclamation,’ and concluded with saying, ‘ whether your conduct before or since the proclamation, warrants the charges now brought against you, must be determined by those on the spot, who have the circumstances before them.’

This letter (by which I was led to imagine my trial would be proceeded on “ by those on the spot, who had the circumstances before them,” when the Court should open according to adjournment), I sent to Mr. *Sergeant Chatterton*, from whom, to my astonishment, I learned the assizes were over, and that the Court would not be opened again, though but six days of the adjournment had elapsed.

On my first arrest on the indictment, I guessed what I had to expect; yet, thinking it possible, that this unwarrantable step might have been taken without you or your secretary’s knowledge, by the petty tyrants in the provinces, I did not give over all hopes of obtaining my liberty, ’till the communication by Mr. *Sergeant Chatterton*, after his receipt of your secretary’s instructions. I then found my conjectures verified—perceiving that your Excellency, ashamed of such a proceeding, endeavoured to sanction your conduct by the act of the grand-jury, (of whom I cannot think but with abhorrence), I gave myself no further trouble about you or your secretary, determined patiently to wait the coming of better times,

'till the latter end of October, when getting *further* intelligence of the conspiracy formed against me, and having it in my power to give many *more* substantial reasons against my detention, I wrote to you in a stile very dispassionate, without any the slightest comment or observation, confining myself to a mere recital of facts, in substance the same as detailed in these my letters to you; and at the same time sent you an affidavit made by Mr. *Dogberty*, uncle to *Hebert's* wife, giving an account of a conversation between him and *Hebert*, a few days after my arrest, wherein *Hebert* disclaimed "any knowledge of me, and protested his "ignorance of any thing to my prejudice," and disclosed to Mr. *Dogberty*, "the threats on the one "hand, and on the other the promises of large sums "of money, and a comfortable annual income, to "induce him to swear to a written paper, the contents of which he knew not." I likewise sent you Mr. *Pelham's* letter to me, and *Brigadier General Coote's* letter to my wife, giving an extract of Mr. *Pelham's* letter to him of the 25th of July; and also a copy of lieutenant *Speare's* affidavit, lest your secretary might have suppressed the original sent to him, of which I believe him fully capable: to this letter and these papers, which were handed to you by my friend and brother, *Arthur O'Connor*, I received an answer—"that the offence I was charged with, namely, corresponding with the enemy, was not pardonable by the proclamation; with regard to the affidavits and papers, that you would take them into consideration, and give such answers as you should be advised."

In this state did the matter rest 'till last Saturday, when through my brother, I received an official notification, that I could not be liberated; which answer has induced me to publish the entire transaction, and to call on the people to be judges between you and me—"a round unvarnished tale have I delivered, "whereof

"whereof" my country "had by parcels something heard, but not distinctively, "nothing have I extenuated, nor have I set down aught in malice." The observations to be made on the foregoing will conclude this letter and correspondence with your Excellency: and first I shall take a view of *Hebert's* information, and how the law stands in this particular case.

The King's last parliament, in their last session registered an edict, authorising your Excellency, and six of your Council, to issue a warrant to arrest any person, of whom in your wisdom or your jealousy you may think proper to have suspicion; in which case, and which *only*, as I apprehend, the suspension of the bill of habeas corpus operates: by virtue of such a warrant or warrants, or orders to a *Brigadier General*, one dated on the 24th of June, the other on the first of July, was I detained by *Brigadier General Coote*, when invited to his tent, by his *Aid-de-camp*; by virtue of such a warrant was I taken to Dublin by *Captain Roche*; the paper said to be an information, though never signed by *Hebert*, being the cause of suspicion, respecting which your secretary examined me, on Monday the 24th of July, and liberated me, with your Excellency's knowledge, as heretofore fully explained. If you and your secretary had authority to discharge me from custody, and to set me out on the bail given pursuant to the proclamation; was I not acquitted to all intents and purposes *legally*? If you and your secretary were not impowered to liberate me, I charge you both with misprision of treason.

I admit the legality of my first arrest, however perfidious—The same act of the legislature which sanctioned the warrant, gave a discretionary power to you and your secretary, (Blessed Confidence!!) either to discharge or imprison the accused: your discretion directed you to liberate me: by what law could I be molested again, after acquittal before a legal (how-
ever

ever extraordinary) tribunal? If the law did not invest you with power to use your discretion, how could you answer to the public? how could your secretary presume to liberate a person charged with high treason, in no less degree than corresponding with your King's enemy? Here ends *Hebert's* information, or whatever you please to call it, with this one remark, that it is dated on the 1st of June, and relates to circumstances *alleged by the magistrate* to have happened on the 1st of February before, for the *truth* of which you are now referred to *Hebert's* affidavit hereunto annexed.

To *Cullinane's* information, (procured as *aforesaid*, bearing date on the 20th of July, giving a story of a conversation *told by the magistrate likewise*, said to be holden on the 6th of April preceding, and received from *Brigadier General Coote* by your secretary, on Monday the 24th of July) the same reasoning applies as to *Hebert's*: your secretary, with knowledge of it, liberated me, nay, added, that government paid no attention, by reason of the quarter it came from, yet, was it *afterwards* to be made the instrument to deprive me of Liberty for seven months; though I made you acquainted with one very remarkable circumstance, namely, that on the examination of *Cullinane* by *Lord Bantry*, and the *Rev. William Silletto*, on Sunday the 9th of April, the day after his arrest, and but three days subsequent to the supposed conversation, he declared on his oath, to them, that he knew nothing of me, or to my prejudice: for the certainty of which I appeal to these two magistrates.

Besides, where was the occasion of putting my steward to the torture in April last, to extort information of me, if *Cullinane* could have furnished you at that time with such documents as in four months after, were miraculously brought to his recollection? Before? I finally dismiss these informations, I desire of *Mr. Pelham* to call to mind, his conversation with
me

me, respecting this magistrate, and the testimony I produced to him, of actings and sayings of the man, which at the time, very properly seemed to fill his soul with horror; and I cannot avoid thinking, that the intelligence, then given to your secretary, of the disposition of this unhappy man, induced Mr. *Pelham* to have recourse to him, and to make use of him (according to English custom) to destroy me.

Having given a faithful narrative of all proceedings of your government, respecting this transaction, the two last letters from your secretary, since my arrest, demand consideration. I call on him to explain the import of the passage—‘That I had not his consent or countenance to attend the assizes of Cork; on the contrary, that he thought I had gone to England long before their commencement.’

Should our miseries continue to accumulate, I make no doubt of the establishment of offices for the distribution of license to *us Irish*, to go here, or stay there—*hitherto* I did not know that *an Irishman* had occasion to ask permission of an *English clerk*, to attend the assizes of his county. But I particularly require of Mr. *Pelham* to acquaint the public, how he could suppose that a person charged with high treason, could have gone to England, and not have been under *the absolute necessity* of attending the assizes—if he had not known that the person accused had been heretofore arrested, tried, acquitted; and *discharged*.

The truth is, your government, ashamed of being under the necessity of liberating one, for whose apprehension thousands had been offered, propagated a report, that I had made important discoveries, had manifested a sincere repentance for any offences I might have committed, and that I was obliged to quit Ireland during the war, as soon as the adjustment of my private concerns would allow—in other words, that I had submitted to obey a *lettre de cachette*—To which I answer, that had I any discoveries to make,

make, I feel myself proof against any species of torture, to extract even a broken sentence; that as to any offence against my country, my maxim ever has been, "*Nil conscire Sibi, nullâ pallefcere culpâ*,"—to which, whether I have paid due observance or not, my country must decide; and with regard to the last stipulation, I ask Mr. *Pelham*, was it demanded of me?—*Perish O'Connor*, ere he would consent to it.

The last letter is reviewed, and dismissed with one observation—that at length you surrender *Cullinane's* information, your only hold at first; and now intrench yourself behind *Hebert's*—which you had before abandoned as untenable.

After seven month's imprisonment, *perhaps* it may be your *Vice-royal* will and pleasure to give me an opportunity of vindicating myself and recovering the liberty of the common air, and the use of my own limbs: I say *perhaps*, as you can, with precisely the same colour of law or justice, extend the punishment to next year, and from year to year in eternum, "*Gnossius hoc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque auditque dolos*."

What, my Lord! were not all the laws in your statute-book, (the most bloody that ever defiled a nation) found sufficient to prosecute me?

Did you feel yourself reduced to the necessity of exercising a vigour beyond *even Irish law*?

What were your instructions to Mr. *Sergeant Chatterton*, *which he sent for*?

What were the terms of your reprimand, for his imprudence in adjourning the assizes?

Why did he not open the court on the tenth day, *pursuant to adjournment*?

Will you tell the people of this land, that the will of an English oligarchy is Irish law, is Irish constitution?

Will

Will you tell them, that to that oligarchy *alone* you hold yourself accountable.

Will you tell them, that that oligarchy considers Ireland as a conquered province, which they treat accordingly, which they have reduced to a work-shop, for the manufacture of soldiers and sailors, to fight the battles of their talk-masters?

Tell them—but hold, spare yourself the pains—we know, what is still better, we *feel* our degradation. Thanks to the God of Nature, who works by means inscrutable to mortal ken, *Grenville, Pitt, and Jenkinson* have done wonders—THEY HAVE NEARLY REALIZED OUR FOND HOPES OF SEEING THOSE ABUSES, WHICH HAVE HITHERTO WITHSTOOD THE INEFFECTUAL STRUGGLES OF DIVIDED KINGDOMS, FALL PROSTRATE BEFORE THE MODERATE, BUT DETERMINED EXERTIONS OF UNITED NATIONS.

Britain, thou hast an inspired prophetic *Fox*, a matchless *Burdett*—Are not *Norfolk, Russell, Gray, and Sheridan; Erskine, Stanhope, Tierney, Oxford, Lauderdale*, thy sons? Is not truly noble *Suffolk* thine?—"thousands besides: but who can count the stars of Heaven?" May their influence reanimate; may their celestial light irradiate all thy children. *Burdett*, of Foremarc, that land which gave you birth, must be ever dear to *O'Connor*; though his country now writhes and groans, beneath the lash of thine, the Irish know how to discriminate between the cruelties and vices of a destructive and profligate faction, and the humanity and virtues of a generous and gallant people.

Tell England to bid farewell to Liberty, when Ireland is enslaved?—three millions of Irish slaves, would rivet Britons' chains.

Countrymen, whilst *assassination* is bailed by authority, am I doomed to a *Bastile* on charges, the futility of which I was ready to prove according to law, which was denied me—the groundlessness of which I have

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made

made clearly appear to the executive, *without redress*. Behold me in a loathsome prison, in a cell nine feet square; my fortune ruined; my health impaired; my constitution shattered; with enough of all left, however, to be useful to my country.

Hear me through the grate of my gaol; be watchful as owls; resolute as lions; gentle as lambs; persevering as moles;—be patient, sober, and discreet; faithful and true to your engagements; adore your Creator; be ready to die for your country; fear a bad character—dread nothing else.

Let the World be your Republic,

Ireland your Country,

To do good, your Religion,

Be humane;

BUT ABOVE ALL, BE UNITED.

Farewell, fellow-citizens.

Of you, my Lord, I take my leave, with saying that whoever advised you to take the steps you have taken against me, is no judge of law, a bad judge of politics, and a worse judge of human nature.

"**ROGER O'CONNOR.**"

COPY

C O P Y

OF

LIEUTENANT SPEARE'S AFFIDAVIT.

SWORN BEFORE

VESIAN PICK, MAYOR.

County of the } SAMUEL SPEARE, late of the county of
 City of Cork. } Devon, in the kingdom of Great Britain,
 and now a Lieutenant in his Majesties 8th,
 or King's regiment of foot, this day came before me, and
 being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that in the month of
 July last, shortly after the Deponent's return from England,
 Deponent was in the city of Cork, when, through the me-
 dium of a friend of his, who was then in the house of Robert
 Longfield O'Connor, of Fort Robert, in the county of Cork,
 he the Deponent received an invitation to go on a visit to the
 said Robert O'Connor, for the purpose of seeing some friends
 of this Deponent, who were of that said house. Deponent
 saith he accordingly went to said house, where he remained
 for some days. Saith, though this Deponent, previous to his
 arrival at said house, had never seen nor was acquainted with
 the said Robert Longfield, he the said Robert Longfield, in
 some short time after Deponent came to his said house, in the
 course of conversation, introduced the name of his brother,
 Roger O'Connor, with whom this Deponent had not any pre-
 vious acquaintance, nor had he ever seen him, and saith, in
 said conversation, the said Robert Longfield related to this
 Deponent, a variety of matters and charges, highly prejudi-
 cial to the said Roger O'Connor, and represented the said Ro-
 ger O'Connor in so infamous a light to the Deponent, that he
 the Deponent became impressed with a very unfavourable opi-
 nion of the said Roger O'Connor. Saith, at different other
 times, while Deponent was in the said house, and whenever
 said Robert Longfield had occasion to mention the name of
 the said Roger O'Connor, the deponent heard him make use
 of and apply to him, the said Roger O'Connor, the most op-
 probrious epithets, and such as could alone be applicable to
 the greatest delinquent. Saith, that towards the latter end
 of said month of July, the Deponent was in company with
 the said Robert Longfield, standing in a field near said house,
 he the Deponent saw a person of the name of Cullinane, as
 Deponent was informed by said Robert Longfield O'Connor,
 coming towards Deponent and said Robert, whereupon the

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said

said Robert mentioned to the Deponent the words following, or to the effect thereof. "Here comes one of the greatest rascals and villains existing, he is coming to swear informations against that villain my brother!" Saith, the said Robert, afterwards desired said Cullinane to go to his office door, and that the said Robert would let him in. Saith, that soon after this, Deponent accompanied the said Robert into his said office, whereupon the said Cullinane was desired to come into said office, and saith, upon said Cullinane's coming in, Deponent was forcibly struck with evident marks of apprehension and trepidation, which the countenance and appearance of Cullinane betrayed. Saith, that immediately after the said Robert swore the said Cullinane, *he informed him that he was to give information against said Roger O'Connor*, and after said Robert had put some questions to said Cullinane, *and after intimating a wish that the said Cullinane should answer said questions, so as to criminate the said Roger O'Connor*, the said Cullinane became alarmed, greatly frightened and agitated, and declined complying with the wish of the said Robert, whereupon the said Robert, *assured the said Cullinane, that the swearing as was required against the said Roger O'Connor, was a MERE MATTER OF FORM*, and that the said Robert would keep the matter so sworn to himself, and at the same time mentioned to said Cullinane, that by his swearing against the said Roger O'Connor he the said Cullinane *would save himself from going to prison*. Saith, that the said Robert, having in manner aforesaid operated on the mind of Cullinane, he the said Cullinane acquiesced in adopting or confirming any charge *intended to him by the said Robert Longfield*, against the said Roger O'Connor, and this Deponent saith, that when the said Robert used to put a question to the said Cullinane, tending to criminate the said Roger, and that the said Cullinane *could not answer the same, or declined doing so*, he the said Robert used to frame and manage the said question, and so work upon the said Cullinane to answer the same, to the prejudice of the said Roger. But *before* the said Cullinane would actually give said answer, he the said Cullinane used to ask the said Robert, whether his answering said question *as suggested* to him by the said Robert, would *save* himself, to which the said Robert used to reply in the affirmative, *and thereupon and not before*, said Cullinane answered said question. Saith, that the *whole* of said examination of said Cullinane, was conducted in manner aforesaid, and was immediately reduced to writing, in presence of Deponent, and after said writing or information was signed by said Cullinane, he the said Cullinane said to the said Robert, "*Now, Sir, I am free from any thing you may have against me,*" or words to that effect, whereupon the said Robert replied in the affirmative, and that he might go away, for that *nothing more would be required of him*. Saith, from what the Deponent saw while in company with

with said Robert and said Cullinane, and from the manner in which said examination of said Cullinane was conducted, and from the *great eagerness and anxiety, then shewn by said Robert*, in endeavouring to criminate said Roger O'Connor, and from the conduct of said Cullinane, he the Deponent is well convinced and satisfied in his mind, that the said Cullinane was *influenced and intimidated* by the said Robert Longfield, to swear said information, and that said informations were not the result of a mind free and unbiassed—disposed to tell the genuine truth, Saith, the Deponent not being conversant or acquainted with matters of law, and hearing the said Robert say, that said information was not to go further, he the Deponent did not know what effect the same could have against the said Roger O'Connor, *or for what purpose same was intended*, and saith, he the Deponent did not take any further notice respecting same, until the present Assizes of Cork, when, hearing that some bill or bills of indictment were found against the said Roger O'Connor, *upon said information* of said Cullinane, so taken before the said Robert Longfield, he the Deponent, recollected the same and the several circumstances aforesaid, and Deponent having been undeceived respecting the aforesaid representation of the said Robert, against said Roger O'Connor, he the Deponent conceived himself bound in honor and justice to said Roger O'Connor, to relate the aforesaid circumstances, to the said Roger O'Connor, and to verify the same upon oath, if the same can be of any benefit for the advancement of justice, and the protection of the innocent. And the Deponent saith, that subsequent to the said information being as aforesaid, taken by the said Robert, he the said Robert said to the Deponent, that upon *second thought* he had better give in the said information to General Coote.

Sworn before me, at the Mansion-house,
Cork, 28th September, 1797.

SAMUEL SPEARE,
VESIAN PICK, MAYOR.

Copy of a Letter from John Hebert to Mrs. O'Connor.

Kinsale, December 26, 1797.

MADAM,

" It being reported that I am to be a witness against Mr.
" O'Connor, you may be assured I never shall, who I know
" nothing to his prejudice, and besides it being a thing so
" contrary

" contrary to the laws of my country, and that I wrote a
 " letter to Mr. Rashleigh, a magistrate of this town, offering
 " to make an affidavit, that it was out of my power to appear
 " against him, as I never spoke to him but once in my life,
 " that I went to his house concerning some business of my
 " own, and I was then in a state of intoxication.

" I am, Madam, your humble Servant,

JOHN HEBERT.

" To Mrs. O'Connor, Connor-Ville.

C O P Y O F

JOHN HEBERT'S AFFIDAVIT.

County of } JOHN HEBERT, a French prisoner of war,
 Cork. } came this day before me, and voluntarily made
 oath, that he has heard that he has been detain-
 ed in Ireland for the purpose of giving evidence against
 Roger O'Connor, of Connor-Ville, in said county, Esq. and
 saith, that he will not, nor cannot, as a French citizen,
 and prisoner of war, give any evidence in this country against
 said O'Connor, and Deponent further saith, that he never
 spoke to said O'Connor but once, that he called to his house
 about his private business, and that he the Deponent was at
 that time in a state of intoxication.

Sworn before me, this 27th of December, 1797.

JOHN HEBERT.

JOHN RASHLEIGH.

to THE
P E O P L E
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N
AND

I R E L A N D.

P A R T I.

C H A P. I.

TO you I appeal; in the justice of my cause? I dread not to appear at your tribunal, before which I ever have, and ever shall bow down with deference and respect.

Having been taught to think, that the governments of nations, instructed by compact, should be administered for the advantage of the people, and the end of all governors being the security of life, liberty and property, I am at a loss to know by what lawful authority any member of the community can be deprived of that protection, or can be molested in the exercise of rights, to be guaranteed in which, he has always paid his quota, and to the enjoyment of which, by the rules of all well regulated societies, he is entitled. That the trustees of the people are warranted, nay, are bound to punish offences committed against the community and individuals, is true: but it is as certain, that the exercise of the power delegated, should be used according to known and established laws and regulations, not to chimera, jealousy, suspicion, or surmise.

What

What is called in the *practice* of the law of England *precedent*, having now *usurped* in many cases the place law, it peculiarly behoves you to be watchful of the intrusion of a new arbitrary rule, which *once* admitted, is presently raised up as the standard by which in future your lives, your liberties, and your properties will be measured.

How far protection has been afforded to me, *one* of your body, you are now called upon to judge, which, that you may do in the full possession of reason unprejudiced, I have not presumed to endeavour to call forth compassion by a pathetic address to your feelings for individual suffering, nor to awaken anger further, than by a plain, unadorned narrative, your resentment may be excited.

Having heretofore laid before you a brief account of the proceedings of the administration of Lord Camden against me, from the 27th of December, 1796, to the 13th of January, 1798, (for which you are referred to my letters to his Lordship.) I shall now give as succinct a detail as the nature of the case will permit, from that to the present time, during the whole of which, I have been, and still remain *the sport of prosecution*.

In my address to you, through Lord Camden, a duty owed to you and to myself;—that I did not deceive you, has been long since proved by subsequent events—that I *now* advance the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth I put myself on God and the country, challenged the world to refute any assertion by me made.

C H A P. II.

FROM the 13th of January, I remained in my dungeon as usual, anxiously looking forward to the approaching assizes of the county of Cork, when I should

should have an opportunity of publicly exposing the conspiracy formed against my life, in which I succeeded to my most sanguine expectation, by the confession of the conspirators of their own guilt; the very best evidence; *when not extorted by promises, threats, or TORTURES.*

From the circumstance of my having disclosed the greater part of my defence, in my letters to Lord Camden, small hopes being entertained of putting me death on such evidence as was expected to appear, recourse was had to the following expedient, to procure *sufficient testimony.*

On the night of the 8th of March, the servant who attended me in prison, brought two letters to me, which he had received a few minutes before, from an unknown person, with an injunction to him of the greatest caution in the delivery, and a request to me, not to destroy them, as he would call in a day or two to explain. These letters were as follows:—

“GENERAL,

“Give but your orders and your men are ready,
“every thing will fall before them; you will be at the
“head of forty thousand of the finest troops in Europe—all is ready.

(Signed)

“F. I. W. S.

“*To O'Connor.*”

“MOST NOBLE SIR,

“Every preparation for the rising is made, and
“only wants your word to begin, your letters have
“been all received, and duly attended to, and your
“advice followed in every thing; the time is at hand,
“that you will have satisfaction of *kings and tyrants.*
“Your men and officers are all ready to obey your
“commands, to march to Dublin, and put a stop to
“that infernal thing, called a parliament, from thence
“you can march to London to meet the conqueror of

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“Italy.

" Italy. Keep this 'till the writer calls on you to explain to-morrow ; he will bring sufficient vouchers, he comes with credence,

" With the highest consideration,

" Health and fraternity,

(Signed)

" Z. W. A. M."

" To General O'Connor."

From the stile of the letters, and the certainty of their being intended for no good purpose, I was enabled to prevent the success of a plot, the design of which cannot now be mistaken, the more especially when it is recollected——

That on the 25th of February, Reynolds the informer opened his budget.

That on the 8th of March, these letters were sent to me.

That on the 12th, the arrests took place in Dublin.

That the original letters given by me to a printer of a public paper, were obtained from him by the forgery of my name.

And, that uncommon pains were taken to prevent my publication of the transaction.

But when you are told, that it was discovered by the confession of one in the plot, " that a note had been written on the morning of the night the letters were sent to me, to one of the Sheriffs of the city of Cork, recommending a search of my cell *for the purpose of having them found* ;" in which that he was disappointed I am entirely indebted to my prudence, in making the receipt public on the night I received them) there can in my opinion, no longer remain a doubt in the mind of the most incredulous, of the letters being sent to me, in the hope of their serving afterwards for evidence against me. This attempt having miscarried, the former witnesses having failed, five of my most material witnesses, viz. Lord Camden and

and his secretary, being above all law, having refused to appear, *Brigadier General Coote*, his Aid-de-camp, and Lieutenant *Speare*, of the 8th foot, being military men, and ordered out of Ireland previous to my trial, and thereby prevented from attending. Every expedient to destroy me having proved abortive, I was, on the 12th of April, when put on my trial, on three indictments for High Treason, acquitted and discharged.

C H A P. III.

MY intention of setting off on the next morning for Dublin, on my way to Maidstone, to my brother, being known through the city of Cork, a friend informed me, that he learned a design of the government to arrest me in Dublin, in order to prevent my going to England, and advised my going by the way of Waterford, with which complying, after travelling day and night, I arrived in London on the 19th of April; my first object being to see my brother, I wrote to the Secretary of State on the 20th for that purpose, and on the next morning was visited, whilst in bed, by four persons, one of whom asked me if my name was *O'Connor*, and if I had written to the Duke of *Portland* on the evening before? To both which questions, having answered in the affirmative, he enquired for my papers, which (consisting of the copies of the indictment on which I had been tried and acquitted, as heretofore mentioned, and four public Cork newspapers, called the "*HARP OF ERIN.*") I handed to him; he then acquainted me that he had come by order of the Duke of *Portland*, who wished to see me, and that a coach waited at the door; into which having gotten with the four men, I was brought away to the house of Mr. *Sylvester* the messenger,

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where

where having waited 'till nearly two o'clock; judging the anxiety of my family and friends on my account, I sent Mr. *Sylvester* to the secretary's office, to know at what time my attendance may be wanted, who returned about four o'clock, with an account that I should not be required to go to the secretary's at all, and that he had received *another warrant* to take me off to Ireland *that night*; whereupon, I requested of Mr. *Sylvester* to be the bearer of a letter to the Duke of *Portland*; wherein, after "stating my inability to perform such a journey, so immediately after a rigorous confinement of seven months, in a dungeon nine feet square, filthy beyond description, so closely upon the heels of a journey of five hundred miles, in the course of six days and nights, from Cork to London, and the necessity of my attendance at Maidstone, as a witness on the trial of my brother. I concluded, with expressing an hope, that he would not lend the assistance of his arm of power, to have me dragged to Ireland, 'till after the approaching trials;" to which Mr. *Sylvester* brought a verbal message, that my letter did not require an answer, and that he was ordered to do his duty.

Vain were my expostulations against the tyranny and despotism of such a proceeding—of no avail was my demand for permission to see counsel or agent, and, as a singular favour, I was allowed for a few minutes the society of my eldest son, a child of eleven years of age, who had come to town, from school, but the day before, and whom I had not seen for two long years, but with a strict charge to the person in whose custody he came, that he should be brought privately, and not be permitted to leave the house, 'till after I should be conveyed away, lest any person may know what had become of me.

About eight o'clock that evening, I was smuggled into a mail coach, *not going by the direct or usual road*

to Ireland, and without permission to rest, nay stop;—landed at Bullock, eight miles from Dublin, on the night of Tuesday the 24th, in seventy-two hours from the time of my leaving London.

Having hired a cart for the luggage, I walked with, and conducted Mr. *Sylvester* (who never had been in the country before,) to Dublin, where having arrived that night—I got to bed about two o'clock on Wednesday morning, for the first time since my leaving London, and the second since my quitting Waterford, on the 16th inst.

In bed I had not been more than five hours, when Mr. *Sylvester* awaked me, and informed me, that he had the moment before, received another warrant, by a King's messenger dispatched after him by the Duke of *Portland*, to take me back to London *forthwith*.

Whilst in Dublin, before the sailing of the vessel in which I was to be re-conveyed, I saw Mr. secretary *Cooke*, who told me, that though the government did not pretend to have any charge against me, yet, from their knowledge of my power, and their opinion of my inclination to give them opposition, they thought themselves justified in the measures now adopted; which, doubtless, is thought by him and his employers, a full and satisfactory reason; but however I may differ with him and them, on the score of *reason*, I must admit it to be *cause* good and good enough for us, whilst, in the opinion of some men, *expediency and existing circumstances* alone, constitute the law of the land. In the evening I left Dublin, and, forced to travel night and day unceasingly, arrived in London on the morning of the 29th of April, in a situation not requiring particular description, when it is considered, that from the day after my being dug up out of a dungeon, where I had been rotting for seven months, I had performed a journey of eleven hundred and ninety miles, in thirteen days and nights; during the whole of which time, I lay down but for eleven hours.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

TO my enquiries for my son, I learned, that in consequence of the shock his tender frame had received, from the treatment towards me, of which he had been a witness, he had been seized with a fever the day after my being torn from him, under which he languished for five and twenty days, with very little hope of recovery, and to which, in all probability, he would have fallen a sacrifice, but for the unremitting care and attention of my friend Doctor *Mosely*, and the unexampled tenderness and affection of other friends. By the assistance of Doctor *Mosely*, the kindness of Mr. *Sylvester* and his family, and my resolution to withstand this mode of dispatching me, my health was tolerably re-established in ten or twelve days.

My brother's trial being postponed till the 21st of May, I was detained a prisoner in the house of Mr. *Sylvester*, without permission to see counsel, agent, or friend, save my mother-in-law, on condition of not communicating with any person through her, till the 20th, when I was removed to Maidstone to give evidence, which was by my brother's counsel deemed unnecessary, as the testimony I had to offer was given by strangers.

The trial being ended, and the innocence of my brother fully proved, to the entire satisfaction of an honest jury of the men of Kent, as to the charge exhibited against him, “ *of endeavouring to procure an invasion of ENGLAND by the French* ; and being acquitted of a charge of much more concern to him—a charge of calumniating,* yea, of designing to put in jeopardy the lives of the foremost men in the world, the ornament of Britain, the pride of nature—men, to whom he owed more than the best services of the longest life could ere repay, I was brought

* To which the paper said to be found in *Coigley's* pocket directly tended,
back

back to London in custody on the 22d, and on the 26th, in violation of a solemn promise given by the Duke of *Portland*, "that I should not be taken off till after the full establishment of my child's health," I was once more forced to measure back the road to Ireland, where, on account of the delay in procuring escorts of dragoons, we did not arrive till the 2d of June. It is unnecessary to dwell on the kindness and sympathy, expressed in almost every countenance of *the people*, as we passed through the country—nor on the insolence of the *soldiers**---the former felt themselves sorely wounded through our sides, and could not tell, but that arbitrary imprisonment may presently overtake themselves. And the annals of the universe do not furnish one instance, where a standing army, especially kept apart in Barracks from their fellow-citizens, has not first been formidable to the people, and ultimately overthrown the government.

Even handed justice thereby commending
The ingredients of the poisoned chalice,
To the lips of the inventors.

From the tardiness of our progress through England, the London papers overtook us on the road; the account given by the journals in the pay of the treasury of me was curious, and prove the consciousness of the guilt of the minister, who, not knowing what to tell the public, gave them to understand, that I went to Ireland merely as a companion to my brother.

* At Daventry, where we stopped the first night, four sentinels were posted in our room, with orders, given by the sergeant in our hearing, to blow our brains out, if we attempted to quit our beds in the night; and it was with the utmost difficulty, after an hour's remonstrance, that my brother and I could prevail on the soldiers to turn away the muzzles of their cocked pistols from us, as we lay in bed. And for the whole of the way to Holyhead, the escorts were disposed in a manner the most inconvenient to us; except from Haywood to Newcastle under Lyne, where Mr. Meredyth, of some regiment of horse, commanded, to whose politeness and gentlemanly behaviour, we were and are much indebted.

C H A P.

C H A P V.

HAVING now given as minute a detail as is necessary, that you may be enabled to form an accurate opinion; I proceed to lay before you, copies of the warrants, by virtue of which I have been arrested in London, brought to Ireland, taken back to London, there detained for nearly a month, carried to Maidstone, brought back again to London, and from thence dragged to this prison, from whence I now address you.

Copy of the first Warrants

" These are to authorize Charles Sylvester, and
 " his assistants to make diligent search for Roger
 " O'Connor, Esq. and him and his papers to bring
 " before me on suspicion of high treason, to be ex-
 " amined touching the premises, and to be further dealt
 " with, according law;—for which, &c.

" PORTLAND."

" April 20th, 1798.

Copy of the second Warrant.

" These are to authorize Charles Sylvester, and his
 " assistants to take Roger O'Connor, Esq. to Dublin,
 " there to be delivered up to the chief, justice, or some
 " other judge, to be tried for high treason, with which
 " he stands charged;—for which, &c. &c.

" April 21st, 1798."

" PORTLAND."

*Copy of the third Warrant, by virtue of which I was
 brought out of Ireland.*

" It, having been represented to me, that Roger
 " O'Connor, Esq. is a material witness for his bro-
 " ther, now confined at Maidstone; these are to au-
 " thorize Charles Sylvester, and his assistants, to take
 " the said Roger O'Connor, to Maidstone, to give
 " evidence;—for which, &c.

" PORTLAND."

" April 22, 1798.

Before

Before we examine the legality, permit me to call your attention to the variance of those warrants with each other, and the repugnance of the *management* of the Secretary of State to all of them.

To the first, which speaks only of *suspicion*, succeeds a second of a few hours subsequent date, declaring the person the moment before but suspected, *charged with high treason*.

Was it because for ten of the twelve preceding months, I had been in prison, from which I had been liberated only six days?

Was it because on my trial on three indictments for high treason the week before, I had been acquitted?

Was it because my first act after coming to London, was writing to the Secretary of State; and dating my letter even from the number of the house where I lived?

Was it because of the absolute impossibility of my having committed treason, that I was to be suspected?

And was it from my papers, consisting of public records, *that suspicion* was so rapidly altered to a *charge* so probable, and seemingly so well founded, as to induce the necessity, *without any previous examination*, of *stealing* me in the night, by indirect roads to Ireland, and with such dispatch, that though Mr. *Wiffin* the messenger, was sent after us in twelve hours, from the time of our leaving London, he alone, and going by the shortest road, was not in Holyhead in twelve hours after us, and did not overtake us 'till he came to Dublin.

With regard to the third warrant, I should ask his Grace of *Portland*, who represented to him, as expressed in his warrant, that I was a material witness at Maidstone? but as automata only perform the motions they are wound up for, I am constrained to answer the question myself. 'Twas I, by my letter immediately after my arrest, and before my leaving

F London,

London, who represented such necessity; notwithstanding which, I was dragged to Ireland, with the assistance of the arm of power, vigorous *beyond* the law of the noble secretary, and put to all the torture before related: from which one of two conclusions naturally forces itself on your mind—either the business of the Secretary of State's office is transacted in so negligent and slovenly a manner, that the answer was sent to my letter without an inspection of its contents; or the intimation afforded by the letter of the ill state of my health, and the probable consequence to me of the journey, induced the secretary to give me the jaunt of six hundred miles by land, and two voyages across the channel in the course of one week, at an expence of at least one hundred pounds, wrung by shillings, and sixpences from the hard earned pittance of a giddy people, reduced by a besotted faction, to the necessity of swallowing new-fangled oaths quarterly, to prove their poverty and wretchedness.

On the legality of these warrants arises a question, wherein your dearest rights and interest are concerned.

If it be lawful for a Secretary of State to arrest any one on *suspicion*, without any information, other than a letter of recommendation so to do, *and without examination, or the sanction of the chief justice*, to banish him. In the name of God, what security have the people against such a measure, whenever it shall please the secretary to exercise the power? If such warrants be legal, who is to draw the line of latitude, whereto you are liable to be transported, the discretion of the Secretary of State being once allowed the boundary, Hanover—nay, Botany-bay will be as precisely within his limits as Ireland.

Britons, be not amused with the plea of my being an Irishman—for inasmuch as a native of Ireland stands not in need of an act of naturalization, to be entitled to all the rights of citizenship in England, the same rule which is applied to him will be made

to

to answer for you. It may be whispered, that as the treason to which I was suspected of having an inclination, was of an Irish tendency, the Secretary of State did not exceed the limits of his jurisdiction, in directing me to be taken to the country, where, by the letter he received from his brother secretary in Ireland, he was given to understand, I had conceived the idea of bringing forth some treason, one time or another; but that plea cannot be admitted in abatement of the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of the secretary; I say confidently, because so says the law, that he was not authorised to molest any person, against whom he had not an *information on oath*, or some such probable information, as may warrant his arrest, for the purpose of examination. According to his own warrant and the law, I should have been examined, and if no confession of criminality escaped myself, where no information on oath was against me, I should have been discharged, on failure of which, I submit to the plainest understanding, whether I have or have not *been further dealt with according to law*. To have been legally sent to Ireland, I apprehend that an information on oath ought to have been given; and that even in that strong case, it appertained to the office of the people's chief justice, and not the King's Secretary of State, to direct my transmittal; but how I could be legally brought out of Ireland without the authority of the Irish government, *on the warrant of the Secretary of State of England*, I own puzzles me, and must be accounted for (if it be possible) by those who did, and those who winked at the deed.

To satisfy your curiosity on the nature of the information, whereon all these measures were taken, I beg leave to acquaint you, that on my getting to England, by the way of Waterford, and by that means escaping arrest in Dublin, (after my acquittal in Cork) as intended by the government, advice was

dispatched to the Secretary of State of England, "to arrest and transmit me to Ireland; in his obedience to the first part of the intimation, his promptitude to take an hint is admirable; in his stile of carrying the latter part into execution, you must find a difficulty in deciding, whether his ignorance of, or contempt for the laws, is the most conspicuous.

Desirous, before I quit the investigation of this subject, of not leaving any thing unaccounted for, (so far as my knowledge reaches) I take this opportunity of answering an observation made by the Attorney General of England, on Mr. *St. John's* motion in the Commons, respecting the illegality of these very warrants—"That if I had found myself "aggrieved or injured, I might have demanded my "writ of habeas corpus, which I had full time to "do." Time I had, indeed, and time enough, but never consistently with my honor, was I allowed (nay, every pains was taken to prevent) an opportunity of so doing, of which I have given numberless instances in the foregoing chapters; and that to very many applications to the Duke of *Portland*, to see counsel or agent, for the purpose of demanding the writ, direct refusals were always given, of which Mr. *Wickam's* answers, by order of the Duke of *Portland*, to my letters, are the proof.

C H A P. VI.

THOUGH it is not my intention to enter upon a disquisition on the nature of governments, nor of the British constitution; yet, on the principles of that constitution, as settled at the revolution, will I take my stand, by the compact then entered into will I be judged; every travel out of which record is a violation of the covenant, be the infringement called by the name of necessity, "the tyrant's plea," or any other cant phrase, and surely when I call upon that constitution,

constitution, of which I know nothing *practically*, those who have made their fortunes from, and earn exorbitant wages by the profession of a veneration for it, in which number, the Duke of *Portland* stands most conspicuous, cannot shrink from the challenge—to which the circumstance of the death of my only evidence, viz. the constitution, must be fatal to my appeal, but for a late act of the Irish legislature, that entitles me to read the evidence of a MURDERED WITNESS.

Times dangerous, and full of peril to the existence of the power of ministers, but called by those ministers and their adherents, dangerous and full of perils to the State, have been always chosen by them as the season most convenient for attacking the liberties of the people; to do which with effect, an obscure individual has generally been singled out, in the injustice offered to whom, the collective body have tamely acquiesced, from a mistaken idea, of having no immediate interest in a repulsion of the assault. But were the measure of my persecution as small as it has been great, were I the lowliest person in the empire—I would tell the people——

That it is not the quantity of the injustice, nor the rank in life of the individual, but the principle established, that is to be considered.

Had *Hamden* reasoned in a different manner, he would have preferred the payment of an arbitrary impost of twenty shillings, to the risk of his whole fortune in a contest with the crown,

Had a parliament of the 2d *Charles* deemed the illegal imprisonment of a solitary individual, a matter of small concern, you might all, as I am now, be deprived of the benefit of the habeas corpus, which may well be termed the re-enactment of magna charta.

And had your ancestors, in the time of the 2d *James*, thought lightly of acts similar to the present; acts which produced that revolution, that to this day
you

you call *glorious*, George the 3d would now be at Hanover, and his principal Secretary of State, in all probability, not even a Dutch burgo-master, unless he was to have evinced, in the late revolution in Holland, as complete a dereliction of principle, as his Grace has recently exhibited to the British empire.

P A R T II.

C H A P. I.

THE proceedings of an English Secretary of State having occupied your attention through the greater part of the foregoing pages, I shall now submit to your consideration, an account of occurrences which have taken place in Ireland since the 2d of June, the day of my being thrust into this prison, on my last arrival from England. To report which, (so far from intruding myself on your notice), I consider myself obliged, by every tie that should bind man to society.

Of the history of the country, irrelevant to the present question, I forbear the mention—on the general system pursued by the authorities which have constituted themselves, I touch not—the instances wherein the people have asked for bread and gotten stones, I do not enumerate. I state a particular grievance, under which though an individual *now* labours. Heaven only knows how long or how short a time, as many of you as the minister may *think expedient* to make examples of, shall be exempt from the like persecution. But, though I offer not an opinion on speculative points, or the mode of acting adopted by the government towards the people: yet, will I venture to assert, that fixed bounds should not be

be overleaped, that established laws should not be violated by those who affect to govern according to them alone. The departure of justice is in itself an event most melancholy, and creative of heart-rending reflections; but, that she should fall in such a way, that she should be assassinated, by the hands of her very guardians too, of those—

“ Who should, against the murderers, shut the door,
“ Not bear the knife themselves.”

Oh! it is deed most horrible! Who could turn his eye toward, and wink at murder? Peeping from beneath her snowy mantle, under cover of which I fled for sanctuary, I saw the blow aimed from behind—I saw—and felt her fall, as which of you did not. The sacrilegious spoilers bore away her scales, her shield and me. The sword is safe. Woe be to the authors, actors, abettors, and approvers “ *of the deep damnation of her taking off,*” when the celestial spirit of the angel, which has taken its flight to Heaven’s chancery, with tidings of the deed, shall, with expanded wings, light on our western isle, and re-assume that sword.

C H A P. II.

ANXIOUS to learn by what colour of any *known* law, I could have been arrested in England, and be here detained, I desired to see my committal, but to my demand, was informed by the keeper, that no such thing had been given or sent to him; yet was I incarcerated without any other form of detainer, *than a receipt for my body to Mr. Sylvester*; and the end of five weeks, when a committal did arrive, it was signed by the Lord Lieutenant’s secretary, *not by the chief justice, or any other judge*, and recited no charge, but merely directed my detention *on suspicion of treasonable practices*. Of all those in prisons, I was almost the only

only one not served with notice of any kind, and though a special commission to try all persons in custody, sat on the 11th of June, and continued so to do, 'till the 22d of July, I never heard a word of trial; on the contrary, the former assurances, that no charges existed against me were strengthened by the regret expressed by a certain description of creatures *in the shape of man*, that I was not within the reach of the shadow of law stretched over the land.

Here I lay the while, secluded from the sight and voice of those I wished to see or hear, subject to the intrusion of every joyful bearer of the woeful tidings of the departure of my friends; when a negotiation was set on foot, between the government and state prisoners, with a view of saving the life of *Oliver Bond*, and of restoring to the light of Heaven, and the long lost society of their families, thousands of unhappy victims, languishing in gaols, and gasping in tenders; under the auspices, and on the faith of *Marquis Cornwallis*, whose administration of my devoted country, commenced with a shew of humanity, and consequently apparent hostility against a faction that has goaded the Irish people to the brink of a precipice, into the abyss beneath which they will drive them, (if they can) should they be permitted to continue their wild and blood-tracked career, which Heaven forefend.

C H A P. III.

THE prisoners, from some ambiguity on the part of Mr. *Cooke*, (who in the progress of the negotiation, conceived a design of tying them up, and keeping the government unbound) thinking it expedient to have the best security for the just and honorable fulfilment of such terms as may happen to be agreed on, proposed, that three of the whole body should see Lord *Cornwallis*, to treat with him alone, and requested

requested of me to be one, which I declined, not from any backwardness in me to perform any service, wherein their partiality may think me useful; but from a fixed determination not to enter into any agreement myself, and a knowledge, from woeful and dear-bought experience, of the dispositions and inclinations of the men with whom the prisoners were constrained to negotiate, the idea of seeing Lord Cornwallis having been abandoned from motives of delicacy, to Lord Castlereagh.

Emmet, M'Nevin, and my brother, being named by the prisoners, were conducted to the castle, on the morning of the 29th of July, and returned in the afternoon, with an account of their mission; and a written agreement entered into, between Lords *Clare* and *Castlereagh*, on the part of the government, and the delegates on behalf of themselves, and such of the prisoners as should sign it, the number of whom, it was insisted on by the government, must be very considerable, as a ransom for the life of our beloved friend; which agreement was in the words following:

“ The undersigned State prisoners, in the three
 “ prisons of Newgate, Bridewell, and Kilmainham,
 “ engage to give every information in their power,
 “ of the internal transactions of the United Irish-
 “ men, and that each of the prisoners will give de-
 “ tailed information of every transaction that has
 “ passed between them and foreign States; but that
 “ the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to
 “ implicate any person whatever; and that they are
 “ ready to emigrate to such country as may be agreed
 “ on between them and government, on giving se-
 “ curity not to return to this country, without the
 “ permission of government, and not to pass into an
 “ enemy's country.

“ On their doing this, they are to be freed from
 “ prosecution, and also *Mr. Oliver Bond* to be per-
 “ mitted to take the benefit of this proposal.

G

“ The

“ The state prisoners hope, that the benefit of this
 “ proposal may be extended to such persons, in cus-
 “ tody or not in custody, as may chuse to benefit of
 “ it.”

This paper was taken round to the different prisons, assented to, and signed by all the prisoners, three excepted, of which I was one.

C H A P. IV.

WHEN my refusal was known, every engine was employed to induce me to comply, by promises of liberality in the construction of the agreement, much greater than expressed in the writing, and the most religious good faith in the fulfilment of the treaty, or to endeavour to intimidate me, by a denunciation of vengeance in case of my obstinacy.

From my opinion of their ideas of liberality and good faith, I paid no regard to their enticement—from my knowledge of myself, I set their vengeance at defiance. How far my opinion is warranted, I shall not pretend to say; that is for you, on a consideration of the whole negotiation, and the manner in which the agreement has been fulfilled, to decide. Lord *Clare's* opinion, at the conference with the delegates from these prisons, was, “ *That a government which could violate such an agreement, neither could, nor did deserve to stand.*” Nor shall I venture to determine, whether the denunciation against me was or was not carried into effect. I state facts—you will draw your conclusions. In a few days, and subsequent to my peremptory rejection of the agreement, I received intelligence from the county of Cork, that one hundred and sixty of the King's army, horse and foot, had taken forcible possession of my house and offices, made prisoners, and detained for many days, then banished from their father's house, three infants, the eldest not six years of age; seized on all my effects,
 burst

burst into my out-offices, broke open a garde-de-vin; from whence they took all the keys of the house, opened my cellars, stole and drank my wine, burned my firing, made litter for themselves and their horses of my hay, dug up my potatoe fields, wantonly demolished all the stone piers, which had been erected at a prodigious expence, cut in pieces with their swords, all the wooden gates to the inclosures, destroyed my hot-houses, tore down my fruit trees, ruined my gardens, committed woeful havoc on my woods and young plantations: and to close the gazette of this gallant assault, upon an incarcerated man, rendered incapable of defending his children, and protecting his property, the men of the sword broke into the coach-houses, on the night previous to their evacuation of the place, and made a desperate attack on Mrs. O'Connor's carriage, from which, in a most heroic and soldier-like manner, they carried off the lining, and plated ornaments; and after holding possession of the garrison for six weeks, marched off on the morning of the 2d of October, with all the horrors of war, bearing their plunder, and "their blushing honours thick upon them."

C H A P. V.

THE reports of the secret committees of the Lords and Commons being given in to their respective houses, I thought it high time to apply to Lord *Castlereagh*, to whom I wrote on the 17th of August, briefly saying, "That if my liberation was not incompatible with public safety, or public justice, I expected he would send an order for my enlargement;" to which letter (not delivered by the public officer, to whom it had been intrusted, till the 22d), I did not look for an answer, on account of the landing of General *Humbert*, and the French forces under his command, 'till a few days after the return of Lord

Cornwallis to Dublin, when I again applied to Lord *Castlereagh* for my liberty; acquainting him at the same time, with the intelligence received from *Connor-ville*, of the proceedings of the military; to which, not receiving any answer, I ventured on a *third letter* to his Lordship, in a few days after, still on the subject of my liberty, and stating more circumstantially the plunder and demolition of my property; all which letters I began to think had either been forgotten to be delivered, or had miscarried, till Mr. *Marsden*, a gentleman in some official situation at the castle, acknowledged to me the receipt of them by Lord *Castlereagh*, adding, at the same time, that as I neither had or would sign the agreement entered into by the other State prisoners, my course should be, *to make interest for a speedy trial*; and concluding with a remark, that government had nothing whatever to do with the destruction of my property; that being merely the local business of the General commanding the district; which short speech would furnish matter for a volume on the state of Ireland.

In the course of the week, and prior to Mr. *Marsden's* visit, having declared my resolution of appealing to the justice of Lord *Cornwallis* for my liberty, I was amused by agents from the castle, with a prospect of regaining my freedom; the delay of any answer to my demands, for which I have every reason to believe, was given with a view of gaining time, to poison by falsehoods, the admission of my remonstrances to Lord *Cornwallis*, to whom, in pursuance of my declaration, I wrote on the 25th of September: wherein, after "an enumeration of the many and illegal measures of persecution and injustice, heaped on me and my family, both in persons and estate; I called on him to order that I may be brought to trial, *even before a military tribunal*, if any charge had been exhibited against me, or that I may be liberated in case of no particular accusation having been preferred," which
letter

letter Mrs. O'Connor delivered into the hands of one of Lord Cornwallis's servants, together with a note from herself, requesting the favour of a few minutes conversation; both of which letters must have been suppressed, or foully played with, as I, but more particularly Mrs. O'Connor, never received any answer.

On the Wednesday after the giving of the letters by Mrs. O'Connor, Mr. Sirr called to this prison, and informed me, that he came by directions of *government*, to tell me that I should have a trial, but in what *day*, *month*, or *year*, they *would not* acquaint me.

As this bore some sort of resemblance to an answer of my letter to Lord Cornwallis, however, as I doubted that he would send a message in so insulting a manner, and as I knew there existed two governments at the castle; being inquisitive to know from which of the two he came charged with the clear, explicit, and *constitutional* tidings; he instantly answered my question, by delivering another message, "That if I wrote accounts for news-papers,* accounts which could only tend to inflame men's minds, he was ordered to acquaint me, that the liberty of pen, ink, and paper would be denied me;" which was as full an answer to my question as could be desired; because, however unkindly Lord Cornwallis has carried himself towards me, I understand from many, and particularly from my worthy and valuable friend, *Alexander Montgomery*, of Donegal, that no man has more pure intentions, or holds in greater abhorrence, the commission of an act that cannot bear the light, than Lord Cornwallis, who affords another instance of the impracticability of any Lieutenant of Ireland, to pursue the dictates of his own heart, besieged as he is, by one faction or another at war with the people.

* In the *Courier* of London, which reached Dublin the morning of the day Mr. Sirr waited on me, by order of Mr. Cooke's government; a brief sketch was given of the attack by the civil power on my liberty, and by the military on my property.

Again

Again and again have I received hints, that on my consenting to go to England, and there to reside during the war, I might leave this prison, which I have never listened to; on the principle, that if I am entitled to my liberty at all, I should be under no restriction, illegal constraint, or despotic controul; and that I am not entitled to my liberty unconditionally, I put the governments of Ireland and England to the proof.

C H A P. VI.

HAVING now brought to a conclusion the account of the latter part of my persecution, I submit to your cool and dispassionate decision, whether that protection to which every man, is by the laws and constitution of Britain entitled, has or has not been afforded to me, either in life, liberty, or property.

I am aware that (unfortunately for Ireland, and Britain too) there are very many of opinion, that every severity legal or *illegal* should be resorted to, for the suppression of rebellion, and the punishment of treason; but I conjure such to recollect that (setting aside the evil tendency of a government proceeding by unlawful steps) I have been in prisons of one kind or other, for nearly the last eighteen months.

That the informations on which I have been heretofore tried and acquitted, were known to have been given by men suborned, or intimidated, and were made use of merely for a legal colour to throw me into prison, and there detain me not with a design (*'till afterwards*) of putting me on my trial, but by way of punishment for advocating the cause of the people, in the line of my profession, and the warmth of my friendship—and that I have been these last six months, and am at this moment immured, not on an accusation of any particular crime, but on the general surmise and *suspicion* of my possessing republican principles; which species of civil inquisition, is in no wise less horrible, or likely to draw in its train
consequences

consequences less fatal to you, than any religious inquisition that has ever been established.

But when the words of the minister (at the introduction of the bill which was to authorize the Lord Lieutenant or his Secretary, and six of the Privy Council, to arrest and detain during pleasure—whomsoever they may think proper to suspect), pass in review before you thus: “I am aware of
“the great extraordinary powers vested by this bill
“in the hands of government; but on this you and
“the nation may rest assured, that this power shall
“be exercised with the most *scrupulous caution*”—and when you are told as I now inform you, that at the time suspicion did light on me, I was obliged to enter into a recognizance of the peace, in no less a sum than 4,000*l.* for the term of seven years—*five years and an half of which are yet unexpired*; with what horror and indignation will you behold the scene I have opened to your view—will it not be the only question any man will ask himself, Can this be a reality? I who have never bartered, trucked or sold my reputation, now pawn it for your confidence; be my life the forfeit if I *redeem not* the pledge with honor.

C H A P. VII.

SO much are the public at a loss to guess at the cause of my imprisonment, that they can scarcely bring themselves to believe, that no information has been *sworn* against me. I would ask those who have thought it expedient to throw me into a prison, and destroy my property—

Is it that because in all the floggings, picketings, half hangings, dungeoning, on land and water, starving, and every other species of torture, no accusation against me has ever been extorted from any of the unfortunate sufferers?

Is

Is it because that on none of the trials, either in courts of law, or war, in all parts of the nation, has any mention been made of my name, save on the trial of *Oliver Bond*; when it was introduced in so novel, so marvellous a manner as to amaze the auditory?

Is it because that in the reports of the secret committees of Lords and Commons, my name is no where to be found? If we except an extract from one of my letters to Lord *Camden*, the motive for selecting which, can be accounted for by the compilers of the report alone.

Is it because that in the parts of Ireland, where I am supposed to possess so predominant an influence*, which is full the eleventh part of the island, no disturbance has taken place, nor any tendency to insurrection, with the single exception of what cannot be called more than a riot, even into which the people were trepanned by a *military gentleman*?

Is it because that in all the searches† made in my house, offices, gardens and grounds, no arms, ammunition, or warlike stores of any kind have been ever found? Or——

Is it because that my nature shudders at acts of inhumanity, and that my reflections, and sense of duty to my fellow-men induce me to declare open war, against torture, reape, and massacre?

I would ask, I say, from which of these causes, have the administration of the Irish government, thought fit to mark me for destruction.

And that you may judge of the solidity of the reason, for introducing my name on the trial of

* When the county of Cork is disturbed, the government call out, "this is O'Connor's work—should the district happen to be in a state of acknowledged tranquillity, the cry is, O'Connor has the people too well organized."

† There have been three very minute searches made at Connorsville, where I have not been but for two days, these nineteen months—in the last rummage, which occupied the attention of the military from the 26th of August, to the 2d of October—a great many things unfortunately for me, were picked up by the soldiers, of which I will venture to say, no report has, or will be made.

Oliver

Oliver Bond, I take the liberty of laying before you the following extract—as reported by *Ridgeway*,

“*Watkins William Verlin, Esq. produced.*

“The witness objected to his being sworn, saying, that he was agent to Mr. O'Connor, and therefore ought not to be called to prove his hand writing
“——The objection was over ruled.

“*Sworn and Examined.*

“Q. Do you know Roger O'Connor?

“A. I do.

“Q. Are you acquainted with his hand-writing?

“A. I am.

“Q. Whose hand-writing do you believe that letter to be? (*shewing a letter signed O.C.*)

“A. I believe it to be his.

“Q. Look at the date of it?

“A. 18th of February 1798.

“Q. Where was Mr. O'Connor at that time?

“A. I can't say, I was in Dublin on that day.

“Q. Mr. O'Connor has taken the oath of allegiance, under the Proclamation?

“A. He has.

“This letter, though proved, was not read; it was as follows:

“My dear Sir,

“I am to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter, which I should have done by Mr. *Leahy* of this city, had I timely known of his going to Dublin, he is a worthy man, and much esteemed by all here who know him.

“Yesterday and this day, have been melancholy ones to me: on Thursday last I received the account of the death of Mrs. O'Connor's only brother, to communicate this sad intelligence to my wife I sent for her to Connor-ville, and here she arrived yesterday afternoon, unfortunately knowing of her brother's death, which, added to a journey quite alone of twenty-two miles, on a very cold day, a torment-

H

“ing

" ing cough, low spirits, in short, to a thousand
 " etceteras, brought her very nearly dead to me, in-
 " somuch that she could not be prevailed on to allow
 " herself to be conveyed to her lodgings, but went to
 " bed here, and in the night was taken in such a me-
 " lancholy way, as no words can describe——no help
 " to be had—gaol shut, every moment I thought must
 " be the last; this day Doctor *Bullen* came as soon as
 " possible, and found her in a very weak state indeed,
 " she is now somewhat composed, but frequently torn
 " to pieces by a dreadful cough. Sitting on her bed,
 " with one of my little girls, who could not be com-
 " pelled to leave me, am I now writing to you—will
 " the day of judgment never come?

" You have heard of the death of Messrs. *St. George*
 " and *Uniacke*, five persons have been this instant
 " brought in here, charged with the killing.

" I have been full two hours writing thus far, my
 " attention being called off every half-minute to my
 " poor wife.

" There is nothing new here—our assizes are fixed
 " for the 2d of April, *perhaps*, I may have the plea-
 " sure of seeing you and others of my friends in
 " Dublin, shortly after, I am told, but as yet I can-
 " not positively say, that *Hebert* the French prisoner,
 " who gave the information against me, has been sent
 " off with others of them, from Kinsale to England.

" I received a letter from *Arthur*, dated the 3d
 " of February, in which he mentions having sent
 " letters to me by a friend of mine, who has not yet
 " come.

" I hope the next letter I shall have the pleasure of
 " writing to you, will be on a more pleasant subject
 " —at all times, and in all situations, believe me, my
 " dear Sir, with truth,

" your faithful

February 18th, 1798.

(Directed)

" O'C.

" *Oliver Bond, Esq.*

" *Bridge-street, Dublin.*"

" The

“The several papers proved upon the trial were now read, except the letter from *Roger O'Connor*.”

Though the motive for not allowing the letter to be read can be easily accounted for—I defy any man to guess at the reason for producing it all. It has been whispered—a very common way of disposing of mens’ lives, liberties, and properties in Ireland, that the expression, “will the day of judgment never come,” has some treasonable meaning; were I anxious about confuting such an insinuation, I should but appeal to the context of the letter, to prove that the words import nothing more than the vulgar meaning of them. But in these times, when any attempt to dislodge the present faction from the seat of power, is denominated treason, and punished as such, I am not at all astonished, that the words should by them be forced to mean more than meets the ear;—a day of judgment to the people—one little day of returning reason to them, would be fatal to the reign of *Pitt* and *Co.* a wistful longing for its coming, must be treason.

As to the following extract, given by the secret committee of the Commons, “Thanks to the God of Nature, who works by means inscrutable to mortal ken. *Grenville*, *Pitt*, and *Jenkinson* have done wonders for us—they have nearly realized our fond hope of seeing those abuses, which have hitherto withstood the ineffectual struggles of divided kingdoms, fall prostrate before the moderate, but determined exertions of united nations.” I who wrote the passage can only say, that I submit it to an impartial canvass, unless the compilers of the report know my meaning better than I do, I protest I cannot form any probable conjecture, why they should take notice of it—but the rustling of a leaf alarms some people.

C H A P. VIII.

THOUGH it is hard on any person, to be made accountable for all the sayings and actions of his life,

which no man could bear up against ; if every unguarded expression is to be——

“ Set in a note book, learned and conned by rote,

“ To cast into his teeth.”

Yet do I challenge any person to prove my republican principles, other than I am ready to proclaim to the world.

It being agreed on all hands, that by the constitution of these countries, the government is composed of monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical particles ; it follows, that all who are not monarch, or of the aristocracy, must consequently belong to the democracy ; and though it were treason, to which it is very near akin, to profess myself a democrat, I would and *do* say, that I am nether more, or less (I trust) than one of the people.

Had I disowned my tribe, and deserted to the trained bands, substituted for the aristocracy—had I by the addition of my weight, caused a preponderance, greater by even so much, than the present, in the scale of mock-aristocracy ; and by making light of the people, I had tended still more to destroy the ballance against the democratical or republican component part of the constitution—it is not in gaols I would have wasted my youth, but revelling and rioting where I listed, at the expence of that people, I would have been base enough to have betrayed.

Had I lent my assistance of even my feeble arm, to render the monarch a non-entity, to tear down the ancient and true aristocracy, to annihilate the democracy, and on the ruins of all, to assist in propping up a mushroom oligarchy, which, by its poisonous qualities, baleful influence, and noxious shade, has rendered the country habitable only to the most ferocious and blood-thirsty of wild beasts, in the catalogue of God's creation ; *tyrants*, and the most contemptible reptiles, *slaves*, I had been amply rewarded for my abominable work.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

WHEN it is considered, that the foregoing narrative furnishes an account of the persecution and sufferings of but one man; how will humanity tremble, at the thought of the miserable state, to which *twenty thousand families* have been reduced, in which number, though the present representation, is of a deeper complexion than many, yet it is exceeded, in blackness of hue by many more. It is true, I have not *yet* been murdered, which excepted, (and God knows how far preferable I have often thought, these two years past, the condition of the murdered man to mine) I cannot form to my mind any species of oppression I have not been obliged to bear.

When you call to mind, that but few of the particulars of the calamities, to which my family and myself have been exposed, (and exposed to, have endured) are before you.

That very many circumstances of the very many conspiracies formed against me, and of the motives of the government, for keeping up such a continual fire on me, are suppressed, because of my having received the intelligence of them, through channels not to be laid open—Those most prejudiced against my political principle, (for to myself I know not of any one being adverse, never having provoked, or I am to hope, merited malignity), must allow, that I have not only not been legally dealt with, but that every principle of the constitution has been violated in my person.

And when my forbearance, in not making this appeal to you my fellow-citizens, 'till after the failure of every application for my liberty, is taken to account; I trust, that a design of inflaming and irritating the public mind, will not be imputed to me. There is no person in England or Ireland, in an ostensible situation, in any shape instrumental in those proceedings, of whom I have not demanded redress without effect; with the constitution for my record, and the people
for

for my judge, I invite the governments of both countries to an investigation of their conduct and of mine.

With the weighty, sharp, and pointed sword of power, hanging by a very weak and slender hair, over my bare head, have I, in despite and defiance of every personal consideration, ventured to exhibit a *faint sketch* of my ill-fated country; the *true picture* of which, has either been carefully kept from the view, or represented through so false a medium, to the people of Britain, as to admit of their forming but a very imperfect idea of Ireland. To what end, and for what purpose could Mr. *Cooke*, assuming the name, and usurping the authority of the government, presume to charge Mr. *Sirr* with a menacing message to me, in case of my publishing any statement of facts? but that from a consciousness of guilt; he was aware, that neither the conduct of himself or his compeers, could, with any prospect of safety, trust to the ordeal of *even* such a public opinion as is now afloat.

Whilst I invite, and the government declines, nay, dreads disclosure and discussion, must it not be obvious, even to the most undiscerning, that justice would plead for me; was not her voice drowned in the din of arms, amidst the exultations of joy, for the groans of an expiring people, with an heart bleeding for my beloved country—I fling away every consideration of myself. But, “though sadness should not dwell in danger, nor the tear stand in the eye of war,” even now has a tear fallen, at the recollection of the situation of eight young children, of the sufferings of a wife, my faithful partner and companion in the worst of times—in perils and dangers, in sadness and in dungeons. It was a tear of admiration, at her wonderful fortitude, her surprizing virtues: another tear stands in my eye—it is a tear of gratitude for her unexampled love. What has been, and what is the situation of this matchless woman? Having encountered and overcome

overcome a variety of suspense, difficulties, toils and dangers; finding herself beset by an host of fresh hardships and disasters, *kept for her in reserve*, she consigned to the care of her servants, four of her infants, and with three others of her children, set out, in the height of the raging of a civil war, on a journey of two hundred miles, in quest of her husband—here she found me—and here has she, with the three children, remained these five months; without house or home, save this prison—afraid to venture to return to that house, which *once* had been her home.

Pardon me reader, if at the mention of her wrongs, at the thought of indignities most dastardly and unmanly offered to her, I have betrayed any symptoms of weakness. Though the precepts of philosophy, teach me to scorn danger, to smile at adversity, and to bear my own persecution like a man; the whispers of sensibility, more strong than the voice of philosophy, command me to feel like a man for the sufferings of others, more especially to those so, and so deservedly precious to me.

O Justice! how long wilt thou delay thy coming?
O Law! such even as thou was wont to be—with all thy caprice, thy backslidings, thy uncertainty and wantonness, return thou jade, better thou than none.

O BRITISH Constitution! Of which I have heard knaves brawl, and fools prate and chatter; I shall not expose my ignorance by invoking thee. In thine own dwelling thou hast expired, covered with manly a ghastly wound.

To Ireland thou didst never come.

C H A P. X.

B R I T O N S',

YOUR ancestors erected a venerable, grand, and spacious fabric; under cover of which, you had, and still might have reposed in safety and in happiness; the columns of which were decorated with——

Your

YOUR MAGNA CHARTA.
 YOUR WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS,
 YOUR BILL OF RIGHTS,
 and,

Your compact with your chief magistrate,
 entered into at the Revolution;
 Engraved in plain and legible characters.

But, alas! *You* have tamely suffered the building to be razed, the pillars to be tumbled down, and on the scite, to be put together, by a bold and ignorant undertaker, an hovel of paper, covered over with hieroglyphicks, of *arbitrary construction*, yet made the rule of action for the people. You had—What comforts had you not? You have—What have you? An host of spies and informers; suspicion in every breast, lowering discontent on every brow; barracks' in the room of warehouses, soldiers in the place of artificers, drones for bees; you have *voluntary contributions, forced loans*, triple assessed taxes, three hundred millions of additional debt; you have a shackled PRESS; you have a war, which must terminate in your undoing, which must be waged, because peace would be the death-warrant to the power of ministers; and ministers you have, who have sunk the nation so low, as to render the four most brilliant naval victories, recorded in the annals of any country, during one war, of little or of no account. You have—but forbear presumptuous man, how canst thou pretend to hold out a weak and glimmering ray to a nation, blessed with that resplendently luminous body, *Charles Fox*; and of that bright constellation moving in the same orb with him, the splendour of which is sufficient to illuminate the world.

CHILDREN OF INNISFAIL.

A country which may be truly called “not our mother, but our grave,” a land, where “figs and groans are made, not marked.” The Lord of Hosts
 be

be with you, and give to you that comfort, which is not in my power to offer, and to which your sufferings and your virtues will so eminently entitle you in the eye of the All-wise disposer of human events. *For us* there seems to be no resting place, but "the dark and narrow house."

You had—poor souls, what had you? Poverty was your portion; the bitter cup of misery was your inheritance. You have—What have you? You have your inheritance? you have—down busy thoughts; lest for an instant I discard humanity;—ere that moment shall arrive, let me be numbered with the dead;—nay, more—let me be numbered with the dead;—nay, more—let me live, and for ever lose all relish for REGULATED LIBERTY.

And now, fellow-citizens, I trust you are of opinion, that I have performed my duty in this service with fidelity. A watchful sentinel—I have not indolently slept on, timidly deserted, or basely betrayed my post. When the attack was made, I sounded the alarm; and I will stand my ground, 'till I shall be sustained by my fellows, or perish, struggling in defence of the just rights of the people.

"I did not seek the battle,

"Nor will I shun it when it comes."

END OF THE SECOND PART.

P A R T III.

C H A P. I.

MY appeal was brought to a conclusion as I thought, I was mistaken—the administrators of the Irish government have furnished materials for a folio, even since the date of the Second Part of this Address.—In steady pursuit of the FACTION—I continue my progress, and notwithstanding the labyrinth, within the mazes of which they imagine themselves secure from detection, haply I have a
I
clue,

clue, by which I am enabled to conduct you, through all the windings and intricacies of their lurking place, from whence I will drag them to the bar of public opinion.—Though I have said a folio may be written on the documents in my possession, think not that I mean to tire your patience by laying you under a necessity of perusing one line, more than sufficient for the perfect understanding of this particular case—two things I would avoid—egotism and verbosity; I shall be as careful to steer clear of the one, as I have unavoidably been driven on the other.

I have heretofore acquainted you of my being amused by agents of the government with hopes of my liberty; first, the closing of the special commission in July last was to terminate my captivity; then, the conclusion of the negociation with the state prisoners; and lastly, the Regal assent to that *act!!! said to be framed on an agreement with them*—all these over, my prospect seemed rather to be overcast than to brighten.

During the twelve first days of October I was employed in writing the two first parts of this narrative—for the remainder of that month I made no exertion to get hence, my friend Mr. Montgomery, of Donegal, having left Dublin, and Mr. Henry Grady, my very particular friend and lawyer, being absent on circuit.—As the following is little more than a transcript of letters, that have passed between Members of the Government and Mrs. O'Connor or me; before I enter upon the connected detail of the correspondence, (the entire of which I am anxious to give) I shall here set forth the whole of two Letters I wrote, one to Lord Castlereagh, the other to Marquis Cornwallis—on which I have lightly touched in the 5th chapter of the 2d part.

“ My Lord,

“ From day to day, from week to week, have
 “ I put off writing to you; it is neither my talent
 “ nor my disposition to be severe; in the raging
 “ of

“ of political parties allowances must be made, and
 “ I am inclined to make many—I am told the law
 “ has resumed its empire: whilst even one member
 “ of the community is unjustly deprived of that
 “ protection, for which he always contributed his
 “ quota, its dominion cannot be said to be com-
 “ plete.

“ If my liberation is not incompatible with pub-
 “ lic safety, and public justice, you will give an
 “ order for my discharge. Had not a person*
 “ from the Government called on me within these
 “ few days, I should have thought that one of so
 “ very trifling a weight as I am in the scale of po-
 “ litics had been forgotten, and out of sight, had
 “ been out of mind.

“ Your very gentlemanly conduct to me, and
 “ kind attention to Mrs. O'Connor, in the midst
 “ of hurry and confusion, have induced me to
 “ make this *my first* application to you.

“ I am, &c.

“ R. O'CONNOR.”

“ *Prison, August, 17, 1798.*

“ *To Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Dublin Castle.*”

This my first, and two subsequent applications to
 his Lordship (of so much the same tenor with the
 first that I did not think it worth while to take co-
 pies of them) not having been *honored* with any no-
 tice, I wrote the following to Marquis Cornwallis:

“ My Lord,

“ Persecuted as I have been for these two years
 “ past, during which time having been immured
 “ for fifteen months, in the most loathsome dun-
 “ geons, obliged to enter into bail to be of the
 “ peace, in no less a sum, than 4000*l.* tried on
 “ three indictments for high treason, acquitted, and

* This person was Mr. Marsden who came to my prison a few days
 prior to the date of the letter, with a view of inducing me to sign *that*
paper—the same Mr. Marsden who a few days previous to the seizing of
 my house by the military, told me to mark the consequence of my obsti-
 nacy in not signing that paper—the same Mr. Marsden, who at a subse-
 quent interview with me, remarked that Government never interfered
 about military outrages.

" discharged, *hunted* to England, there arrested.
 " without even the pretence of a charge against me,
 " brought to Ireland, taken back to England,
 " brought to Ireland again, thrown into a prison
 " here, having called again and again for my en-
 " largement, being told by the officers of the Go-
 " vernment that there is no charge against me,
 " promised by those who, in your Excellency's
 " name, exercise the power of Government,
 " my liberty, on threatening to lay the circum-
 " stances of my singular case before you :
 " With a shattered constitution, a life scarcely
 " worth preserving, a fair estate ruined, my house
 " and lands at this moment in the possession of 160
 " of the 30th regiment of foot, and 2d fencible
 " dragoons; I find myself at length reduced to
 " the necessity of calling on your Excellency,
 " (whose regard for justice has been conspicuous)
 " to afford me protection, and to have the good-
 " ness to give orders that I may forthwith be
 " brought to trial, if any charge has been exhibited
 " against me, or if there has not, that your Excel-
 " lency will have me restored to my liberty, of
 " which I have been unjustly and illegally depriv-
 " ed. I am to acquaint your Excellency, that I
 " am the only person in confinement, who has not
 " signed the agreement to emigrate, and that to my
 " resistance to the many applications of those about
 " the Castle to induce me to enter into a negotiation
 " with them, I attribute the continuance of my im-
 " prisonment, and the destruction of my property.
 " Second to no man in birth, with the advan-
 " tage of the most liberal education, and once pos-
 " sessed of an ample fortune, now ruined by those
 " paid for its protection, have I been unceasingly
 " persecuted for no crime, unless abhorrence of
 " cruelty, and of the abandonment of humanity be
 " criminal.

" As I declared my intention of appealing to
 " your Excellency, I should not be surpris'd had
 " attempts

" attempts been made to shut out from admission,
 " or to poison my complaints—but, my Lord, I
 " challenge any person to come forward, and be-
 " fore your Excellency I pledge myself, to unfold
 " such a tale of cruelty and unremittingly vex-
 " atious harassment of me, contrary to law, and
 " bearing no semblance to justice, as will amaze you.

" Unwillingness alone to trespass on your time,
 " prevents my entering more into detail; was I
 " to give you a narrative of the sufferings of my
 " wife, eight children, and myself, since the 27th
 " of December, 1796, it would harrow up your
 " soul, and make your hair stand on end for very
 " horror.

" I cannot take leave of your Excellency without
 " requesting of you to excuse the trouble I have
 " given you in perusing so long a letter, from one
 " who (though not having the pleasure of know-
 " ing) has the highest respect for your Excellency,
 " and is, with perfect sincerity,

" Your obedient humble servant,

" R. O'CONNOR."

" *Prison, Sept. 25th, 1798.*"

" *To his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis.*"

These letters are proof of two melancholy facts,
 that the Irish are under the necessity of calling up-
 on an individual for protection, and, that they are
 obliged to appeal from the tyranny of the native-
 born administrators, to the very feelings of a fo-
 reigner.

C H A P. II.

On the first of November, Mr. Grady returned
 to town, and called on me previous to his seeing
 Lord Castlereagh for the purpose of demanding
 my liberation; to his Lordship he went, and return-
 ed to me in a few hours, with an account of his in-
 terview, the sum of which was, that Lord Castle-
 reagh said, " I had trifled with Government, by
 " giving them reason to suppose I would sign the
 " agreement

“ agreement entered into by the rest of the state
 “ prisoners, and by afterwards retracting, and that
 “ *therefore* nothing could be done.” However unwilling I was to account to any person for my motives, or to satisfy Lord Castlereagh with my conduct, yet from a desire of not leaving him any pretext, I wrote the following letter.

“ MY LORD,

“ Some apology I feel due to *myself*, for addressing a fourth letter to your Lordship, whilst three former ones remain unnoticed—a well-merited affection for my wife, a duty towards eight young children, have induced me to make one more effort to regain my liberty—to these considerations is superadded another, a wish to correct an opinion of yours very ill founded—my friend, Mr. Grady, called on me this morning, and astonished me by the recital of a conversation he this day had with your Lordship, in which you remarked,”—“ I had trifled with Government in the manner I carried myself during the negociation with the state prisoners, by first consenting to sign the agreement, and afterwards retracting,” and wherein you dwelt on the variance of my conduct with my brother’s expressions, (as if authorized) of me.

“ The first assertion is imputable not to you, but to the source of your information; the second to your ignorance of me. To the first I answer, I never had the most distant idea of signing such a paper; to the latter I say, had I once consented, I should not have withdrawn. With regard to my brother (in whose company I was not till May last for more than twenty-four hours, taken all altogether, these two last years) he must have either mistaken my directions, or he has been unintelligible to you; my instructions to him were to inform you, in case you made any observation on my name not appearing with the other signatures, a circumstance I thought probable, from what

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Neillson* said when he came to this prison
 “ with Mr. Dobbs, that I would go to England
 “ during the war, to save Mr. Bond's life, but that
 “ I never would sign any papers, if my brother said
 “ other than this, he exceeded his authority; my
 “ case is wholly unconnected with that of any other
 “ person, if any charge has been preferred against
 “ me, I am ready to meet it. I defy any man to say
 “ a word that can affect me, if any such person has
 “ imposed on you, produce him.

“ The same public expediency, that makes my
 “ persecution necessary, makes my death desirable;
 “ if you think the former of a milder nature than the
 “ latter, you are much mistaken. I hope you may
 “ never be in my situation, should that however be
 “ the case, I never will compose a part of any
 “ Government, after it may shew an inclination to
 “ conduct itself towards you, as the Government of
 “ which you are a member, has carried itself towards
 “ me; you must allow I have not been dealt with
 “ according to law, justice, or the Constitution.

“ I am your Lordship's

“ obedient humble servant,

“ R. O'CONNOR.”

“ *Prison, Nov. 2d, 1798.*”

To Lord V. Castlereagh, Dublin Castle.

* The evening of Thursday the 26th of July, the day on which Oliver Bond was respited, Mr. Dobbs and Mr. Samuel Neillson came to the state prison of Bridewell where my brother and I were confined, all the prisoners being called together from their respective cells, Neillson stated to them that he had a very long conversation that morning with one of the Clerks of the Castle, known by the name of Secretary Cooke; the sum of which was, that, however, well disposed the Government might be and was, to listen to an accomodation, nothing could be done, and executions must go on, except the O'Connors (who had hitherto declined entering into any negociation) were a party; as to me the Government knowing from the length of time I had been imprisoned, that I must be totally ignorant of every transaction foreign or domestic, were not very anxious for my acquiescence—but my brother's compliance was insisted on in such a manner as to leave no room to doubt the consequence of his perseverance, blood would have flowed in torrents, every drop of which would by all parties have been put down to the account of my brother from the mention of me at all, I thought it likely that Lord Castlereagh would make some observation on my name not appearing amongst the other signatures, and in that case, I entrusted my brother in the answer he should make.

That

That there may be no doubt of the delivery of this letter, Mrs. O'Connor was the bearer, to whom Lord Castlereagh observed, "that the *last time the opinion of the Attorney General had been taken on MY CASE it was not deemed expedient to release me.*" At one time he remarked, "it could be but conjecture in her to suppose there was no charge against me;" at another adding insult to torture, he endeavoured to console her with the thoughts that my sojourn in a prison could be no longer than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and concluded with an assurance "that my case should be instantly *again* referred to the Attorney General," whereupon she took her leave; and on the Monday following she received this note.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 5th 1798.

"MADAM,

"I am desired by my Lord Castlereagh to acquaint you, in answer to your application to him on Saturday, that the case of Mr. Roger O'Connor *has been* referred to the Attorney General, and that when his opinion is received, you shall be informed of it.

"I have the honour to be, Madam, &c. &c.

(Signed) "ALEX. MARSDEN."

Mrs. O'Connor.

Notwithstanding this note having good reason (which you will presently see was not without foundation) to suppose that tricks were playing at the Castle, according to custom, and having heard that Lord Castlereagh had gone to England, I sent to Marquis Cornwallis a memorial of which the following is a copy:

The Memorial of Roger O'Connor.

"Wherein your memorialist begs leave to represent
 "to your Excellency, that he is a person of considerable property, and extensive connexions in Ireland, and particularly in the county of Cork. That in the heat and ferment of political rage, he became
 "suspected of being adverse to the system acted on,
 "during

“ during the administration of Lord Camden, to
 “ answer which suspicion he was obliged to enter
 “ into a recognizance of the peace; in no less a sum
 “ than 4,000*l.* for the term of seven years, five
 “ years and an half of which are yet unexpired; in
 “ consequence of his appearing afterwards at the
 “ assizes for the county of Cork, in the summer of
 “ 1797, in the line of his profession, for some peo-
 “ ple, who had become obnoxious, he was arrested
 “ on three indictments for high treason, on informati-
 “ ons, from which Mr. Pelham had before discharg-
 “ ed, and with knowledge of which he did liberate
 “ your memorialist, on the bail already mentioned
 “ of 4,000*l.*

“ That after his arrest he used every means to pro-
 “ cure a trial, during the assizes, which was denied
 “ him, and into a dungeon nine feet square, within a
 “ common gaul was he flung, where he remained,
 “ from the 27th, of September 1797, to the 12th of
 “ April 1798, at which time the last spring assizes
 “ were held in the county of Cork, when he was
 “ put on his trial, on the three indictments, before
 “ mentioned, and was honourably acquitted, and
 “ discharged.

“ That on the day after his acquittal he repair-
 “ ed to London, where he meant to reside, for the
 “ education of eight young children, and for the
 “ purpose of avoiding any interference in politics,
 “ and where, on the 21st of April last, he was ar-
 “ rested, without the shadow, nay the possibility of
 “ a charge, by a recommendation from the then
 “ Government of Ireland.

“ That after undergoing a variety of toils and
 “ hardships, too numerous to detail, he was shut
 “ up in this prison, on the 2d day of June last,
 “ where he has remained to this hour.

“ That your Memorialist has every reason to
 “ imagine your Excellency has been led to con-
 “ found his case with that of other prisoners,
 “ whereas he takes the liberty of informing your
 “ Excellency, that it is by no means analogous to

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“ any

"any other, nor was he ever implicated with any man, or body of men whatever.

"That during his confinement here, his house and property have been seized on, and destroyed by one hundred and sixty soldiers, horse and foot, who, during a six weeks stay at Connorville, committed every excess which barbarity could devise, and cruelty execute.

"From a wish not to draw this paper to a tiresome length, he begs leave to refer you to Mr. Grady, who will have the honor to present this memorial, for particulars; and in the fullest reliance on the justice of your Excellency, he rests assured, that your Excellency, who wants only information, to grant redress, will take this memorial into consideration, and give orders for his enlargement."

- This was handed to Lord Cornwallis on the 9th, by Mr. Grady, the most proper person in every particular—as my advocate, intimately acquainted with the nature of my case, he could explain—as an excellent lawyer, knowing the illegality of the proceeding against me, he could inform—As an highly honourable man, he was incapable of misstatement—As a Member of their Parliament, in support of the measures of their Government, and—as a Yeoman, who had been risking his life in defence of their power—he was out of the reach of suspicion: with his Excellency he had some conversation, much of which, I dare say, has not been reported to me, *enough*, however, for my purpose; his Excellency was perfectly acquainted with the difference of my case from that of all the other prisoners, *acknowledged the hardship of it*, and lamented he had it not *then in his power* to liberate me. Here I might put a question to his Excellency—no—I will not hurt feelings, already too deeply wounded. I know his sentiments, as a man, are repugnant to many of his acts as *ostensible* Governor; I say ostensible, to mark my respect for his character.

character, and in vindication of his name, to the present, and to future times. Pitt knows him to be an honourable man; *therefore* fears him, and in his fears has sent his cousin Buckingham, and his friend Hartford, to controul him in the administration: What then can he do? he can do nothing, but *feel* that he cannot, and for what he cannot, redress: before his coadjutors undertook the government, doubtless they informed themselves of the history of Ireland, in that instance, and that only, unlike the patricians Marius calls "*Homines preposter*;" of that history, every page, every line affords comfort and consolation to the minds of men who can draw extenuation for their baseness and cruelty from the vices and barbarism of other times. Taking a review of the acts recorded in that history, the present faction are entitled to our *admiration*, for their consistent adherence, to the maxims and rules, adopted and established by their ancestors, for *settling* this nation, and can shew precedent for all. If we may judge of men's lives by their actions, the Irish may safely affirm, that from the days of Hugh de Lacy to the present time, no Deputy, Lord Lieutenant, or Directory of Englishmen, have ever considered it any part of their duty, or office, to render impartial justice, or afford protection to the Irish people.

C H A P: III.

Nearly a fortnight had elapsed, and no answer to the Memorial; and having learned that Lord Castlereagh had returned to town, Mrs. O'Connor, from her bed, wrote to his Lordship, saying:

Bridewell Prison, Nov. 21st, 1798.

"MY LORD,

"Since I had the pleasure of seeing your Lordship occurrences have happened, with which I think proper to make you acquainted.

"On the day after you left town, I received a note from Mr. Marsden" "that he was directed by your Lordship to tell me, that Mr. O'Con-

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"nor's

" nor's case was referred to the Attorney General,
 " and that I should be made acquainted with his
 " opinion when declared" " with anxiety of course
 " did I wait for such answer, till the Friday follow-
 " ing, when I learned that no mention had been
 " made to the Attorney General of Mr. O'Connor,
 " and that your Lordship had gone to England.
 " Under these circumstances Mr. O'Connor thought
 " it advisable to write a memorial to Lord Corn-
 " wallis a copy of which I herewith send you.
 " Though I do not pretend to know legal distinc-
 " tions, and could not tell but that the Attorney
 " General was really to be consulted, Mr. O'Con-
 " nor smiling at the time, told me, that your Lord-
 " ship, puzzled to know what to say, and not wish-
 " ing perhaps to say any thing unkindly, was desir-
 " ous to get rid of my application. This day
 " and not before I heard that your Lordship was
 " not gone to England, and of these particulars I
 " should have personally informed you—but for the
 " last ten days have been confined to my bed with
 " a most violent rheumatism contracted in this pri-
 " son, which I much fear will deprive me of the
 " use of my limbs---here I have not the least prof-
 " pect of getting better---yet here am I determined
 " to remain, till my husband shall be at liberty to go
 " with me for the establishment of my health.

" The persecution of my husband, my children,
 " and myself, has no parallel; this effort, the last,
 " I shall ever make to obtain our liberty, I am to
 " hope, will have the desired effect; and that your
 " Lordship favor me with an answer,

" Your obedient, humble servant,

" W. C. C. O'CONNOR.

" To Lord Viscount Castlereagh,

" Dublin Castle."

Adhering to the line I originally marked out for
 myself, of not attempting to interest your feelings,
 I forbear entering into the particulars of my wife's
 situation at this time; suffice it to say, that Doctor
 Trevor,

Trevor, the medical Gentleman who visits the prisons, attended her in her illness, and reported to Government the state she was in thus: "The attack commenced with a violent rheumatism, which has given way to medicine and care; she now complains of a cough, attended by a pain in her side, to which a blister has been applied, She is very unwell, and declining fast." Yet was the following letter written to her, at a time when every one, who saw her, had dreadful alarms for her safety.

"*Dublin Castle, Nov. 27th, 1798.*

"MADAM,

"His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having advised with the Attorney General, upon the case of Mr. Roger O'Connor, he sees no reason for altering his opinion of the necessity of continuing him in his confinement.

"I have the honor, &c.

(Signed)

"CASTLEREAGH."

"*To Mrs. O'Connor, Bridewell.*"

C H A P. IV.

ALL hope excluded thus, it was my intention never to have further communication with a member of the Government, which nothing but my wife's situation could ever have induced me to have opened with one of them: the receipt, however, from my agent, of the following list of depredations, committed by the military on my property, made my writing once more to Lord Castlereagh, necessary; which I did the first instant, as follows:

"MY LORD,

"Pursuant to your desire expressed to Mr. Grady, I have the honour of inclosing a list of damages done at Connorville, by the military; I neither can, nor will vouch for the truth of the extent of them—I believe it true.

"I need not point out to your Lordship how to act. I am, &c.

R. O'CONNOR."

"*Prison, Dec. 1st, 1798.*"

"*To Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Dublin Castle.*"

Wherein

Wherein I inclosed the underwritten inventory, to which hitherto I have not received an answer:

Panes of glass broken in the house, 12, at 1s. 6d.	0	18	0
Locks broken in ditto, 10, at 3s. 3d.	1	12	6
Stucco work spoiled, cost of repair	1	2	9
Two marble chimney-pieces, damage valued at	2	3	6
Chairs broken in parlour and west drawing-room	3	7	6
Repairs of house clock, damaged by the soldiers	1	6	6
Two dozen knives and forks stolen by ditto	1	4	0
Two dozen and an half of plates	0	6	6
One pair of boots stolen	1	2	9
Smoothing-irons, candlesticks, razors, bottles, sugar-hammer, and pincers	1	12	9
One looking-glass	1	14	1½
One flour binn	0	16	3
One shift and apron of Mrs. Wilson's, the children's maid	0	16	6
Cupboards in servant's hall, broken	0	15	2
116 lb. of bacon, at 6d. per lb.	3	2	10
A fowling piece	9	2	0
A blunderbuss	2	5	6
Glazed sashes put by for use, broken	2	16	0
Damage done to carriage	85	0	0
Damage done to pillars of court-yard gates	1	2	9
Mahogany plank destroyed	2	7	0
Sashes of hot-house and melon-pit, destroyed	60	0	0
Ditto of green-house, ditto	1	4	0
Chinese paling on the terrace, ditto	10	4	6
606 panes of glass broken in hot-house and melon-pit	40	8	0
Fruit trees of various kinds	15	5	0
Grapes in hot-house, and wall-fruit of different kinds	10	15	0
220 earthen pots with full-grown myrtles, and different kinds of flowers and flower-roots, at 6s. 6d. per pot	71	10	0
Two grates in the hot-house, destroyed	3	2	6
3 doors, locks and hinges, ditto	2	0	6
Garden tools	1	4	0
A thermo-			

A thermometer, in hot-house	0	16	3
3 cwt. of sheet lead	2	16	0
3 ton of hay made litter of by dragoons	12	0	0
1 bar of iron stolen out of the farm yard gate	1	7	9
8 doors and locks, valued at	9	3	4
1 saddle stolen	1	14	1½
4 ton of timber burned by soldiers	12	0	0
A wheat screen destroyed	3	8	3
10 window lattices, 105 feet square, at 1s.			
4d. per foot	7	0	0
Two padlocks	0	5	0
Plow-irons stolen by dragoons	1	2	9
Harrow-pins, do. do.	1	14	7
Plowing harness, do. do.	7	7	10
2 plow racks and whiffle trees, do.	0	12	3
Iron of a pair of cart wheels	3	5	1½
Shears, curry-comb, lantern, &c.	0	10	3
Damage done to cart wheels	3	0	0
Brewing vessels	10	0	0
One wooden gate	1	10	3
Paling of bowling green	2	7	6
Turf burned and destroyed	20	0	0
Lodging of quarter-master and four officers	14	4	4½
Hay for officers' horses	4	11	0
Lodging of soldiers	43	10	0
41 acres of after-grass in lawn, destroyed	69	19	0
A potatoe field forcibly dug up by the soldiers	7	17	6
A pair of Portland-stone piers damaged,			
valued	10	14	9
386 oak and other forest-trees, destroyed	38	12	0

£ 631 18 8

Nine brass cannon not valued.

Damage done in wine-cellar, not known.

Three children, and maid, ordered to Bandon, expence not mentioned.

Having every reason to expect excesses like these from an hallooed soldiery, they do not amaze us. "*Cuilibet in arte sua credendum est,*" is a good maxim, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who is allowed.

ed to understand his trade, before he relinquished the command of the Irish army, declared, that they would be formidable only to the people, by whom they were paid for protection. As the conduct of this small detachment, which paid a visit to Connorville, speaks so plainly for itself, there is no occasion for any comment from me.

C H A P. V.

HAVING detailed up to this date the eventful history of English despotism and Irish tyranny exercised on my person, I say eventful in its consequences, and full of instruction if dispassionately considered, allow me to solicit your attention for a few minutes.

Passing over the strange and contradictory language held by Lord Castlereagh to Mrs. O'Connor; when he says at one time, it can be but her surmise that I am detained only on suspicion, and in the same breath admits that my imprisonment can continue no longer than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act: Setting aside the cruelty of sporting with the feelings of a woman, whose husband shall have compleated his six and twentieth moon in captivity in a few days more, by talking of the Habeas Corpus act, which has been suspended till the first of August next, and the suspension of which in all human probability will be further continued ere that period shall have elapsed; not stopping to dwell on the wanton barbarity of directing his letter of the 27th of November, which was to announce such dismal tidings, to a woman in the state he knew Mrs. O'Connor was, before I call on his Lordship to account for the letters, written by his order and by himself, I beg he will explain his meaning, when he says, "because I had trifled with Government in giving them reason to suppose I would sign the agreement, entered into by the other state prisoners, and afterwards retracting, *that therefore nothing could be done.*" Would he be understood to say, that a refusal to enter into the agreement, was a just cause for

for suspicion of treason, or would he insinuate that the *immorality* of retracting was a treasonable practice.

Had I signed that paper (agreement it can not be called) which the historian of these times will hand down to posterity coupled with the treaty of Limerick, a paper which with talismanic facility, would change virtue into guilt, constancy into recantation, free will into necessity: Had I signed that paper, the logic of his Lordship with the aid of his acts of Parliament, would be more specious: in that case he might have replied; because I had signed that paper, that therefore nothing *would* be done: but as I never did sign, or promise to sign it, his Lordship's inference cuts but a very sorry figure, and in my opinion is the very reverse of the conclusion, a man of sense would be inclined to draw from the premises, difficult it must be for us to guess at the language of a man who does not know what he himself means. Be his meaning what it may, I will venture to affirm that a challenge of the array of wrongs like mine, would not be allowed on such an *ideo* by any person conversant with law or grammar. These things dismissed, I come to observe upon the letters.

You would naturally conclude from the expressions used by Lord Castlereagh to Mrs. O'Connor on the 3d of November: You would suppose from Mr. Marsden's letter by order of his Lordship; you *ought* to have no reason to doubt from his own letter of the 27th, that the Attorney General had been consulted on my case, and had given his opinion against my liberation. What will be your surprize when you hear that at the time Lord Castlereagh told Mrs. O'Connor of the *former* opinion of the Attorney General, the Attorney General had *not* been consulted concerning me? How will you be amazed to learn that notwithstanding Mr. Marsden's note, the case had not been referred to the Attorney General? And as to the manner in

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which

which the opinion of the Attorney General was asked on the 26th of November, I put it fairly to Lord Castlereagh—I call upon him to explain the necessity of consulting the first law-officer on the case of a person, against whom no information had been sworn; or from what documents the opinion could be formed.

But in truth the Attorney General never was consulted; unless we are in that light to consider the circumstance of Mr. Marsden's running to the Four Courts, calling the Attorney General aside, in the hall, and whispering in his ear to recollect, "that he was *then* consulting him on the case of Roger O'Connor," for the purpose of enabling his Lordship to say WITH TRUTH, that the Attorney General had been consulted according to the assertion contained in his letter of the 27th, to Mrs. O'Connor. These facts being duly considered, what must be Lord Castlereagh's idea of the treatment I have experienced, which if justifiable, stood not in need of apology, unwarrantable as it has been aggravated by such pitiful conduct.

C H A P. VI.

THOUGH the Government may be unwilling to give it under their hands, yet have I discovered by private communication from incontrovertible authority, the motive for their persevering hostility against me. Will you believe that the just, wise, and strong Government of Ireland, have been actuated solely by——fear not of numbers, but of me alone? They have not been ashamed to avow, though I blush for them whilst I proclaim the fact. What inference is to be drawn? What manner of administrators can they be who stand in awe even of one man? Were the views of those who exercise the powers of Government direct? Was the business of the nation conducted with any thing like common honesty? Were the thousandth part of the means employed to coerce, torture, and despoil, made use of to conciliate the affections of the people: Did the people practically enjoy, even a very moderate

rate proportion, of those advantages set down in the theoretic list of benefits derived from the Constitution: Little cause would such rulers have to dread, little attention would a people so dealt with, pay to the most factious and powerful demagogue. But if the administrators of the Irish Government having raised, will endeavour to uphold a monstrous system of corruption, pillage, and rapine; if they "would rather reign in Hell than serve in Heaven." "If having waded so far in blood, they will go on rather than turn back," they have done me an honour I had no right to expect at their hands, in suspecting me of being adverse to them; my country's friends are my only friends; to the enemies of Ireland foreign or domestic, I avow myself the foe.

C H A P. VII.

MY good fortune in being enabled to give so accurate a statement from the lips and pens of the members of the administration, takes a considerable weight off my shoulders, relieves me from the pain of asserting any thing on my own credit, and precludes the necessity of having recourse to conjecture, even on the most secure grounds; my letters invariably contain a demand for a trial; the resistance to which on the part of the Government, during the sitting of a special commission in the months of June and July last, the assizes for my county in October, and Michaelmas term in Dublin, would be strong evidence in my favour: strong as it may be, it is redundant by the acknowledgment of the Minister, the expedient of finding bills of indictment without an information, not having yet been resorted to, except in courts martial, where the high honour and penetrating sagacity of the venerable Judges renders such a *trifling* form unnecessary. If it should be asked what my design and object is in laying this statement before you, I answer it is neither more nor less than a desire to perform my duty: I am not so ignorant as to suppose that those who support the present system from interested or timid motives will

treat any thing I have said with any other than contempt or indifference; I am not so unversed in the English or Irish world, or so vain as to imagine, that those who have sold or are afraid to give their opinions, will be impressed with sentiments favourable to any testimony I can adduce—Men who can persuade themselves to think they act rightly, and can find an apology in their personal interest or fears to deny admission to the evidence of their own senses, if they do not absolutely discredit a statement of facts carrying on the very face of it innumerable proofs of authenticity, will yet bestow praises loud and hearty upon administrators who deal death and destruction to their fellow-citizens; but

“ Their hightened wants with fatal bounty feed.”

However secure men of such a temper may think themselves rendered by countenancing acts such as I have given an history of, let me conjure them to recollect that as they are posterity, so will they be ancestors; let me beseech them to ponder seriously and dispassionately on the situation their over hasty and intemperate zeal or cowardice will inevitably reduce their children to. The child that is unborn will have cause to repent of the sanction given by his father to the furious misrule of the present administration. Pitt, if thou hast not read the tragedy of Macbeth, read it; then will you understand me when I exclaim with Macduff,

“ Hell Kite thou hast no Children.”

C H A P. VIII.

THE cause assigned and avowed by the faction which misrules my country, for throwing, and continuing me in prison, being fear, on the ground of suspicion, that I possess, in an eminent degree, the confidence and affection of my countrymen. I should gladly be informed, by the Pandemonium of those shrewd politicians, redoubtable warriors, and sagacious statesmen, who certainly have diligently perused, and are deeply read in Puffendorff and Grotius, the articles of war, and all the theoretical
writers

writers on the Constitutional History of England, under what denomination, of captive, or prisoner, do I fall. Before I answer to the charge, whereof I am accused, I must enquire whether it be well founded; of whom shall I make the enquiry? Of my accusers---Be it so. Had I no other claim to the esteem of the people than the execration of their task-masters, it would be indisputable: they know my opinion of the present system of venality and corruption, all who support that system are my enemies, all who would unite in the demolition of that system, which desolates the land and impoverishes the people, are my friends, of whose confidence I have received too many proofs to doubt of their sincerity; therefore do I proudly plead GUILTY; and right glad am I that those who harass and hold in contempt the Irish People, stand in awe of me; they abhor me, and I glory in it: how rich then am I in the two most valuable acquisitions under Heaven, the hatred of tyrants, and the love of the people: be this my consolation in glooms, in darkness, and in dungeons; my pabulum---my elixer---my secret joy in youth---my staff---the theme of my garrulity in age---my exultation in the moment of death---the pillow whereon I lay my head---reposing on which all my waking thoughts afford me comfort---my dreams delightful fancies, not interrupted by frightful visions, of cottages in flames, their late inhabitants ravished, or led into captivity, and gorey apparitions of men, women, and children, massacred by the ruthless hands of hired exterminators---Peace to those who are haunted by a guilty conscience; the atmosphere of INNISFAIL is overcast and rank, so thick, so vast, so putrid, are the swarms of impure elves which wing the air---ere long I trust the genius of ERIN will spring up, dissipate the clouds which lower upon the land, disperse and banish Hecate and her train, and regenerate her Emerald Isle.

This happy change is not to be effected by Legislative Union with England. My fair country-
women,

women, and you my countrymen, seek not—expect not to find the slightest amelioration, the most trifling reformation of our present melancholy system in this ruinous and wicked project—In as great a farrago of nonsense as ever figured through fifty pages of the press of GEORGE GRIERSON, and that is a bold word, his magnanimous and serene highness, William Pitt, has issued a mandate to his Irish vassals to think that an incorporate Union will be a remedy for all our evils. Doctor Brodum says his *Pilula Salutaria* is a cure for every disease incident to man, woman, and child: for my part, I believe the Doctor's bolus precisely as amply efficacious in its ways, as his Highness's strengthening plaister is in its application—and vice versa—on perusing this medley, the mass of mankind will be in doubt, whether to laugh at the arrogance of the pamphlet orator, or to weep for the miserable state to which this great and gallant people are reduced—the perusal of the speech causes in me each sensation by turns; and I will venture to affirm that if you wanted any additional arguments to support your former opinion of the woeful effects of an Union, Pitt's last speech has furnished you with an abundance. The manner in which he undertakes to prove (he would undertake any thing,) the advantages which would result to Ireland, is, by shewing that Mr. Foster, in the year 1785, was of opinion that certain specific regulations proposed by the British Minister to the Irish Parliament, were beneficial to Ireland in a commercial point of view; which propositions all Mr. Foster's influence and reputation for knowledge of the trade of Ireland, could not induce the Commons to accept—all his other *weighty* arguments on the score of advantage to Ireland, consist in a variety of questions, which he has answered very much to his own satisfaction: In speaking of the competency of the Parliament, his reasoning is no less inclusive, his method is entirely novel, and utterly unknown to the ancient and modern schools; it is by question

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to you, and answer by *himself*—"must," says he, "the Members of Parliament, *upon every great question*, receive new delegated powers from their constituents?"—I answer, no; *not upon every great question*; but I am bold to affirm, that such a question as the surrender of the Legislative into the hands of a foreign power, they are not competent to discuss, much less to decide: I have the authority of Locke, a wiser man than Pitt, that the Parliament is not only not competent, but that such an act by them would be an absolute dissolution of the Government. Will Mr. Pitt presume to say, that if he conceived the project of filling up vacancies in the commons by a vote of the Members, or by his own election; or that if he designed to make the monarchy absolute, and to discontinue Parliaments altogether—will he say, that on such occasions the Parliament is competent to decree? *On every great question* they are not to receive new delegated powers, unless that question is beyond the limits of their constitution; and that the question of Incorporate Union, whereby the Legislative is to be so wholly altered, as to be delivered into foreign hands, is such a question, there cannot be a doubt. Having with dispatch given answers to so much of his enquiries, mark Countrymen, the nature of your security; he acknowledges it rests on the interests of the two countries—when those interests clash, where is your security? and for the first time of his life that he has been candid, he has declared, "*that interest is worth a thousand compacts*:" were a man in private dealing to use such an expression—who but a fool would have a commerce with him? That narrow, selfish, mercantile jealousy will exist to a greater extent after, than it did before the Union, I can well conceive; and if I understand plain English, a thousand compacts may be dissolved, whilst interest is adamant; and, lastly, after depicting in the most mournful colours the invariable conduct of England to our
country

country, after adducing numberless instances of fraud, perfidy, and plunder, after confessing that Ireland never made a contract with Britain in which we were not over-reached, he calls upon us now to place confidence and reliance in the most weighty matter ever attempted.

Oh, Burke! if the spirits of the departed meet together in the *cave*, and talk of mortal men, if they receive intelligence of the transactions of this planet—tho' stars dim twinkle thro' thy form—how would thy eyes sparkle with joy to hear, that the days of chivalry were revived; the English Knight is in his high career; the Nonpareil of adventure, the Prince of Revolution; now may he without hazard couch his lance—advance his target; he comes furnished with a *salve*, compared with which, the phial of the renowned hero of La Mancha is mere trash.

Why have I delivered my sentiments even in this short sketch, on this measure? because, perhaps I may never have an opportunity again. When we have seen Members of the Government dismissed because they would not betray the rights of their country—men, who were in the habits of agreeing with the British Minister, treated in such a manner—what am I to expect?

I have heard, that on the consummation of this new alliance, I was to have the bayonets of English soldiers removed from me; and that I was to be permitted to quit the walls of a prison; let me rather waste my life in a bastille, than hear of the solemnization of such a marriage.—People of Ireland—East, West, North, and South, Unite firmly against English Union; and you People of my native city, men of Cork, men of Munster—while I live, my heart shall be with you; and when my corporal part shall be consigned to the bosom of our beloved Ireland—Remember me.

From my Prison, Feb. 8th, 1799.

F I N I S.

APPENDIX.

TO THE
GENTLEMEN
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN my friend, Mr. O'Donel brought forward, and my friend, Mr. Montgomery, seconded a motion in your House—"For copies of certain papers, to enable the Parliament to form an opinion, whether the power vested by them in the Executive, had been exercised in an unwarrantable and oppressive manner in my person"—private friendship, great as it was, merged in the magnitude of public duty—a question of more serious moment never occupied your attention. In justice to my valued friends, and vindication of myself—I shall take the liberty of trespassing on your time for a few minutes, not so much in answer to any argument advanced in the debate, as in explanation. This irksome task devolves on me from the circumstance of the motion having been withdrawn, just as Mr. Grady was about to deliver his sentiments, as he would have answered every argument against the motion, in my opinion, to your entire satisfaction.

To shew the rectitude of the conduct of the Executive towards me, three letters were produced, from mutilated and garbled extracts of which, you have thought proper to be convinced of the inexpediency of investigation—to prove that the letters in question, make no part of a case in jus-

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tification of the Executive, it will be necessary only to mark and compare dates. Two of these letters were written by me—one to Lord Camden, the other to Mr. Secretary Pelham—and bear date some time between the 20th and 30th of June, 1797, a few days subsequent to my having surrendered myself to Sir James Cotter, on the faith of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, solemnly pledged by a proclamation of the 17th of May—Subsequent to which, on the 14th of July, I was arrested by Brigadier General Coote, and conveyed to Dublin, where I had an interview with Mr. Secretary Pelham, on the 24th, who with these very letters before him, liberated me, and wrote on the same day as heretofore mentioned to Brigadier General Coote—"That I was discharged from ANY arrest, and "out on the bail I had given under the proclamation before Sir James Cotter, at Mallow." From the 24th of July, I remained unmolested until the 27th of September, on which day I was taken into custody, not on any new charge, but on a *capias* on bills of indictment, found on the very informations with knowledge of which Mr. Secretary Pelham liberated me, and wrote the above letter to Brigadier General Coote. From the 27th of September I remained in an horrible dungeon in the common gaol of Cork, till the 12th of April, when I was put on my trial, acquitted and liberated. When then it is considered that subsequent to the writing of the letters (which with deference, yet confidence, I must say are proofs of my frankness, candour, and honourable deportment,) I had been liberated by the very executive officer to whom they were addressed, and that I have been since tried and acquitted by a Jury of my county, to whom the letters never were produced—which would not have been the case, if from them any criminality could be made to attach on me. I cannot avoid thinking that an antiquated and dead letter document has been resorted to, for a colour of detaining me still longer in a prison. Did suspicion light on me? I answered it with heavy bail, for a term not nearly yet expired. Were bills of indictment found against me? I met them—acquittal followed investigation—Yet now, at the expiration of 20 months, the whole of which time, save about six weeks, I have been in one gaol or another. After liberation by Mr. Secretary Pelham—after acquittal by a Jury of my country—after bail given—in violation of

of the public faith, I hear that two letters, I had written, are proofs of guilt, which were thought the reverse by those to whom they were written.

Am I still suspected of being inimical to the present Government? Are not all the laws to which my life and property are subject, strong enough to controul me? Is there no habitation but a prison for an Irishman, after passing every ordeal, with heavy bail on him, for his peaceable demeanour?

It has been said that my pen is habituated to treason, and that General Coote's attention was directed from all quarters to Roger O'Connor. Strange that not one line of the treason, my pen has been in the habit of uttering, can be produced!—Marvellous that on an investigation of the conduct of such an arch-traitor as I am represented to be, recurrence is had to such proofs of my guilt, as such letters! Has my commission of any act since the time of my surrender, so long ago as 20 months, been even whispered? No—of nothing can I be suspected since that period, or documents would not now be produced, to justify my imprisonment, which bear prior date to my making the state as secure as was desired on my account. And supposing, but by no means admitting, that the letters are of signification in the present question—what set off have I against them? The solemn faith of a proclamation—heavy recognizance—liberation by those to whom they had been sent, and acquittal in my county, all subsequent to the writing of the letters. Are all these of no avail? Surely all these cannot be lighter in the scale of your opinion, *than expediency and existing circumstances.*

The public prints state that my letters contain an avowal of my having organized the South as United Irishmen. Though I have not the copies of the letters now by me, I will, without fear of contradiction, venture an assertion that they contain no such avowal—And why? Because it is not truth—and I am bold to affirm, that a falsehood never escaped my pen. It has been also said, that I had entered into a stipulation with Mr. Pelham, to leave Ireland and reside in England during the war. I do declare most solemnly on my honor, Mr. Pelham never made such a tyrannical demand of me. Mr. Pelham's conduct at my interview with him, was polite, gentlemanly, nay kind, and

and continued to be, until his mind was poisoned by factions, petty mischief-makers.

As the letter written by my brother to me, never came to my hands, I know nothing more of its contents than what I saw in the report of the trial at Maidstone—not can I conceive how it applies to my case, any more than the letters addressed by me to Lord Camden and Mr. Pelham—those which I wrote were dictated by honorable frankness—that addressed to me I never received.

Had you thought proper to have appointed a committee of justice, I would have proved my case to your satisfaction, and the conviction of those who triumph in my persecution. But Gentlemen, I pray you that I be not misunderstood—think not I supplicate—if my life was in your hands, I would scorn to ask it of you—a sojourn of two years in captivity, has furnished me with a tolerable stock of fortitude, temperance, and patience—

“Duram, sed levius fit patientia

“Quidquid corrigere est nefas.”

False friends have deserted me—they may yet want me; I never can stand in need of them. Though a sense of public duty was stronger than private regard, in the eye of those who would have supported the motion for the enquiry, I cannot omit requesting that the few friends of the liberties of the people, will accept my poor thanks for their favorable sentiments of me—that they may undergo no alteration, nor suffer diminution, is my motive for explaining the letters alluded to, which have not been touched upon in any of my appeals to the public, because in truth I had erased them from the tablet of my memory, to make room for matter of more moment, for that they made no part of a case whereby my arrest and detention could be justified. I am persuaded every man of you will be convinced on mature reflection.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient

humble servant,

ROGER O'CONNOR.

From my Prison, Feb. 20, 1799.



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